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THE CAMDEN MISCELLANY,^c

V. 3

VOLUME THE THIRD:

CONTAINING

PAPERS RELATING TO PROCEEDINGS IN THE COUNTY OF KENT, 1642-46.

HISTORICAL POEMS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. FROM THE NORFOLK MSS. IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY.

A RELATION OF ABUSES COMMITTED AGAINST THE COMMONWEALTH, 1629.

INVENTORY OF THE WARDROBE, PLATE, &c. OF HENRY FITZROY, DUKE OF RICHMOND AND SOMERSET; AND AN INVENTORY OF THE WARDROBE, &c. OF KATHARINE OF ARRAGON, AT BAYNARD'S CASTLE.



PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.LV.

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PAPERS
RELATING TO PROCEEDINGS
IN THE
COUNTY OF KENT,

A.D. 1642.—A.D. 1646.

EDITED BY
RICHARD ALMACK, ESQ., F.S.A.

FROM ORIGINAL MSS. IN THE POSSESSION OF
JOHN GEORGE WELLER POLEY, ESQ.

PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.
M.DCCC.LIV.



P R E F A C E.

THE following papers give an authentic account of Proceedings in Kent at the beginning of the Civil War, and during the progress of the political storm which overturned the realm.

Thomas Weller of Tonbridge (from whose manuscripts they are transcribed) was of a family of some antiquity in the county of Kent. His grandfather, Alexander Weller of Cranbrook, married in 1565 Elizabeth, daughter of Jervis Dence, and died 26th June, 1596.

In the south aisle of Cranbrook church is a brass with an inscription to his memory.

A family memorandum-book contains the following account of him by Robert Weller.

“ In the reign of Queen Mary he was prosecuted for his religion by her Attorney-General Sir John Baker of Sisinhurst (his seat) near Cranbrook, and being very much pressed by Sir John to renounce those errors (as the times then called them) of being a Protestant, he had but a short time given him to consider of it; and because he would not comply with Sir John he was obliged to abscond, and was entertained by the Lord Bergaveny at his seat at Birling near Town Malling, in Kent, and under his protection, as a private gentleman; but, during the time of his absconding, he being one day at Gravesend, heard there the news by some persons

that came to that place from London by the tide, that Queen Mary was certainly dead, and that her sister the Princess Elizabeth was proclaimed Queen: which news he received with great joy, and immediately took his horse and rode home to Cranbrook, whence he sent his servant directly to Sir John Baker to acquaint him that he was come home, and had sent him a present of a capon and caponet of which he might take his choice, which the servant carried in a two-lidded basket; the servant was ordered to set the basket down and come away directly: upon delivering his message, Sir John said, ‘What, is Weller come home, then? What, is his stomach come down?’ but the servant being gone as he was directed, he ordered his own servant to open the basket, and take out the present of the capon and caponet, which proved to be a great halter and a little halter; upon seeing which Sir John was in great passion, and immediately ordered his horses to be got ready to go to the town, using threatening language against the rogue Weller, as he called him, with a resolution to use the utmost revenge against him; but as soon as he got to the town he heard the bells ringing, and upon inquiring the reason, was told that Queen Mary was dead, and that her sister was proclaimed Queen, which was the occasion of the bells ringing, and so happily his revenge and wicked designs were prevented, by the determination of his commission, which ceased by the death of Queen Mary.

“This Sir John Baker, for his violent persecutions, was called bloody Baker, and there being occasion to open the vault in Cranbrook church, called bloody Baker’s vault, to deposit a corpse there in the year 1725, it being close to the pillar of the church, the foundation being undermined too much, by that means the pillar fell down, and a great part of the church with it; but it pleased God, there was

such warning given that none were hurt, though a great many people were in the church at the same time. I was in the church before it was repaired, and then was told the particular of the vault having that name, from the family of Sir John being buried there.”^a

This Alexander Weller was called *Brass Beard*, and his grandson Thomas was called *Spade Beard*, from the colour and shape of their beards, according to family tradition.

Alexander Weller had six sons and five daughters. Richard his son was steward to the Lord Abergavenny at Eridge Place, which leads to the following account in the handwriting of one of his descendants.

“ One day when he was at Eridge Place, my Lord Abergavenny being there, they expected the Lord North (I suppose from London) to come thither, but not coming so soon as was expected, Lord North made this excuse (when my grandfather was by and heard him), that he had stopt at a place about two miles distant out of curiosity, he having observed a spring by the road, the water of which had made such a tincture in the channel that he suspected it to be a mineral water,^b and had stayed to taste it, and found by the taste that it was very much like the Spaa water, and therefore advised him to send his mason or bricklayer with a few bricks to

^a This story is confirmed by Hasted in his History of Kent. He says the damage was about £2000, but he does not intimate that it was an evil arising from the ill doings of Sir John Baker, which Robert Weller appears to insinuate. Sir Richard Baker the *Chronicler* was this Sir John Baker's grandson.

^b The discovery has been attributed to Dudley Lord North, who used it and was cured of consumption; but this is probably the true version of the story, and it is on the authority of a person professing to have been present when Lord North suggested to Lord Abergavenny his opinion, and the good reason on which he founded it.

open the spring, which he believed might be taken notice of; and this very likely is the first notice that was taken of Tonbridge Wells. My uncle told me that his father said he was then about 13 or 14 years old, which will make the time to be in 1615 or 1616."

Richard Weller married Agnes, widow of John Thomas, of Southwark in Sussex. He died 1616, and Agnes his widow in 1641. Their second son, Thomas Weller, was born at Frant 1602, and was brought up to the profession of the law. He lived at Rotherfield in Sussex, then at Tonbridge, and last at Eridge Green in Frant, where he died 1670. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Barton, of Goldwell in Hadlow, Kent. She died at Eridge Green 1673; by her he had two sons and one daughter, viz. Thomas, Elizabeth, and Henry. The son Thomas appears to have been somewhat perplexed, like many others who could not foresee the "coming events," as to the proper line of duty, and probably the explanation given by his descendant is near the truth. "He readily paid his duty to the deputy-lieutenants of the county, in submission to the Parliament in their first proceedings against the arbitrary encroachments made by the King, but lamented his unhappy end, and had as much resentment against Cromwell's usurpation as any of his Majesty's subjects."

The grandson of this Thomas Weller married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Poley, Esq. by Frances, daughter of Sir Richard Head, Bart., her father being son of Sir William Poley, Knt., by Elizabeth, sister of the antiquary Sir Symonds D'Ewes, Knt. On the death of the only son of her uncle Sir John Poley, Knt., she became the representative of the ancient family of Poley, which had been seated at Boxted Hall in co. Suffolk from the time of Richard II.

The following pedigree will shew the descent of the present family of Weller Poley, and will account for the family papers of Thomas Weller being now in the library of John George Weller Poley, Esq. at Boxted Hall near Sudbury, Suffolk.

Thomas Weller, born 1602, died 1670; married Elizabeth Barton.



Thomas Weller, born 9 Oct. 1632, died 30 Nov. 1722, buried in Tonbridge Church; married Elizabeth, dau. of Thomas Posthumous Legat, of Westminster, Esq.



Robert Weller, born 12 March, 1676-7, died 18 Sept. 1751; married Elizabeth Poley, who became the heiress of the family of Poley, of Boxted Hall, Suffolk.



George Weller Poley, Esq. born 1710, died 1780; married Frances, dau. of Thomas Hussey, Esq.



John Weller Poley, Esq. of Boxted, born 1755; married Jane, dau. of John Blatch Whaley, Esq.



George Weller Poley, Esq. born 1783, died 1849; married Helen Sophia, dau. of James Fisher, Esq.



John George Weller Poley, Esq. of Boxted Hall, born 1812; married Diana, dau. of Thomas Hallifax, Esq.



PROCEEDINGS
IN THE
COUNTY OF KENT, 1642—1646.

I.

WHEREAS complaint hath been made unto us of diverse ill-affected persons who have resorted lately from beyond the seas to England that have landed at Rye, and have disposed themselves into diverse parts of the kingdome, some of which have been staid, but for want of authority could not be examined in such manner as was designed: these are to require you that you upon all occasions you shall apprehend or make stay of all suspected persons; and if you shall find sufficient cause to bring them before any of the deputy-leiftenants to be examined and further dealt with as they shall think fit, for which this shall be your warrant. Dated at Sennock^a this 10th of October, 1642.

To Mr. Thomas Weller, of Tonbridge, and to all
Mayors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Constables, Hed-
boroughs, and all other his Majesty's officers,
to be aiding and assisting to Mr. Weller in
the execution of this warrant.

ANTH. WELDON.^b
THO. BLOUNT.^c

^a Sevenoaks.

^b See p. 12.

^c Probably of Wricklemarsh in Charlton.

II.

These are to will and require you forthwith to make your repair to the dwelling of Thomas Weller, near Tonbridge, to give him summons for his appearance before the Committee of Lords and Commons appointed for the safety of the kingdome. And these are likewise to require the said Thomas Weller to obey your summons herein as he will answer the contrary at his peril. Oct. 11th, 1642.

SALISBURY.

NORTHUMBERLAND.

ANTH. NICHOLL.

HOLLAND.

L. HOWARD.

To the Serjeant attending upon the Commons
House, or his Servant.

 III.

Whereas Thomas Weller, of Tonbridge, gentleman, hath by his vigilancy, and from his own free disposition, done very good service by intelligence he hath given of great dangers that may accrew to this county, by that way of Tonbridge, by reason of the commerce and concurrence between France and England. And whereas we find he hath been formerly at great charge, out of his own estate, for those services, wee (taking into our consideration that the bridge of that place is fit to be guarded by a competent watch and ward), do appoint four men daily and nightly for that service, for which we shall allow them eight pence per diem to every of the watch men, and as much for the night. And that the said Thomas Weller do himself carefully look to that service, for which his pains we do allow him twenty shillings by the week, both these sums to be paid by the treasurers of our county for the subscription moneys, the said Mr. Weller to apprehend all such suspicious persons of what degree soever, and if he finds cause to carry them to the Parliament or any of the deputy-lewtenants to be examined. And this service

to continue from this present untill a countermand to the contrary be given under the hands of four of us deputy-lewtenants.

^a THO. WALSINGHAM.

^b GEORGE SONDS.

^h EDWD. HALES.

^c ANTH. WELDON.

^f JOHN PORTER.

ⁱ MICHL. LIVESEY.

^d WM. JAMES.

^g JOHN BOYS.

^k JOHN RIVERS.

^e AUGUSTINE SKINNER.

THOS. BLOUNT.

^l JOHN SEDLEY.

Rochester, 27 Oct. 1642.

To our very loving friend, Thomas Weller, gentleman.

IV.

TO MR. THOMAS WELLER.—By virtue of an ordinance and instructions sent unto us and others, deputy-leiftenants of this county of Kent, from the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, we do authorise you, Mr. Thomas Weller, to be treasurer for the subscription money; and to receive of all and every person here under named the several sumes of money annexed to his and

^a Sir Thomas Walsingham, Knt. of Scadbury, in Chiselhurst.

^b Sir George Sonds, K.B., Sheriff of Kent 13 Charles I. and deputy-lieutenant (see Hasted, vol. ii. p. 783), must be the person who here signs as deputy-lieutenant, although his sufferings afterwards and rewards for his loyalty might raise a doubt as to the fact. He was created by Charles II. 1676, Earl of Feversham. The failure of his male issue, which carried his great estates into another family, was caused by a remarkable tragedy, of which Sir George published a narrative. In 1655 the elder of his two sons was deliberately murdered by the younger, aged about 19. After the unhappy boy had been examined before Sir Michael Livesey (who signs with his father above), he was indicted at the Maidstone Assizes, then sitting, pleaded guilty, and was hanged at Maidstone the day fortnight after he had committed the offence. His body was put into a coach and conveyed to Bersted, where it was interred in the church.

^c See p. 12.

^d Of Ightham Court, co. Kent.

^e See p. 5.

^f See p. 4.

^g It is difficult to identify members of the numerous family of Boys; perhaps this was Sir John Boys of Bonnington in Goodnestone, the defender of Donnington Castle.

^h See p. 12.

ⁱ See p. 15.

^k Of Chafford in Penshurst.

^l See p. 12.

their names, being by them freely subscribed towards the great necessity for the defence of the King's majesty and the kingdom.

And to that purpose you are hereby authorised to send out your warrants to every constable in which liberties they dwell, thereby requiring them to give notice to each particular person within their several liberties to bring or send unto you the sums of money by them subscribed as aforesaid, at such times and places as you shall give them notice of in your warrants, that you will attend the said service. And the money by you received you are to keep till you shall have order from the deputy-leiftenants, or some of them, for the delivery and payment thereof, for all which this shall be your sufficient warrant.

Dated at Tonbridge this 4th day of November, 1642.

JOHN RIVERS.

JOHN PORTER.^a

V.

MR. WELLER,—I pray fail not to superscribe my letter to the place where Sir Harry Vane the younger, where his lodging is, or at the House of Commons, which you think fittest. I pray send him up safely with 2 or 3 men that you may trust to deliver him to Sir Harry Vane with the letter, in which the information is enclosed. The charge you shall be allowed out of your receipts. Thus praying your great care thereof, I rest, this 7 Nov^r. 1642,

Your loving friend,

JOHN PORTER.

VI.

SIR,—We have thought upon you as a most fit man, in regard of your known integrity and faith to this cause of religion and liberty, to entreat you to give your best assistance unto Captain George

^a John Porter, of Lamberhurst, Kent, died 1656. He married Anne, daughter of Sir Roger Twysden, of East Peckham, Bart.

Wither,^a employed by the Parliament, with a troop of horse, into Kent, to seize all the horses of malignants and ill-affected persons to the Parliament, that, now the King's forces lying about (*a blank*) in Surry; they may not be sent thither or kept to be ready against us. We desire you that presently upon Captain Withers repair to you, you would assist him and direct him to such places in Tonbridge, or between that and Maidstone, as have horses either for service of light horse or for dragoons. First, you know Mr. Dixon,^b of Hylden, a notorious malignant, hath good coach-horses, and some others, if they be not at home you may help to enquire where they are bestowed. You have divers others in your town; I conceive, by some information given us, almost the whole town of Tonbridge. Mr. Amhurst,^c of Pembury, near you, hath good horses, and you have store at Hadlow and Great Peckham. We desire you to accompany him to Sir Wm. ^dBoteler's, at Teston, and others there, to Robert Hodges, of Farley, and some there who have good horses in their teams for to make dragoons; this will be an acceptable service to the State, and if you please to do it with all care and privacy, you will engage

Your assured loving friends,

15 Nov^r. 1642.

^e JOHN SEDLEY.

^f AUGUSTINE SKINNER.

^a George Withers the poet.

^b Henry Dixon, Esq. of Hylden, in Tonbridge, a justice of the peace.

^c Richard Amherst, of Bayhall, in Pembury, Esq. died 1664, and buried in the chancel at Pembury. The Lords Amherst were descended from his uncle Jeffery Amherst.

^d Sir William Boteler had been created Baronet by Charles I. a little more than a year before this time. He was a great martyr for loyalty. He suffered imprisonment, and had to give 20,000*l*. bail, sequestration of his estate, and his house at Berham Court was plundered of almost everything valuable, and the rest destroyed. Finally, he was killed, 29 June, 1644, at the battle of Cropredy Bridge, at the head of a regiment which he had raised and armed for the King. His widow married Sir Philip Warwick, Knt., the historian of the Civil Wars.

^e See p. 12.

^f Augustine Skinner was of Totesham Hall, in West Farleigh, Kent.

VII.

SIR,—My kind respects, &c. We must all acknowledge your care for the publick, and shall be ready upon any opportunity to testify our engagement to you for the same. For the present particular you shall do well to convey them to the Parliament as men stayed upon pregnant suspicion: acquaint young Sir Henry Vane^a with the business, and he will discharge the messengers of farther trouble concerning them. Touching our coming unto you, Sir John^b is now at London, and to-morrow we have appointed a meeting at Malling for the taking our treasurer's accounts, which having dispatched we shall make it our business to visit your town of Tonbridge, and were there no other cause but the encouragement of the well-affected party, we should think it our duty not to be wanting to them in what lyeth in our power. I suppose toward the latter end of the week to be with you, till when and ever I shall readily express myself,

Dec^r. 5, 1642.

Your affectionate friend to serve you,

To my much esteemed friend, Mr. Thomas
Weller, of Tonbridge.

WM. JAMES.

VIII.

SIR,—My kind respects, &c. We have this day dispatched our business at Malling, and upon Thursday (God willing) Sir John Sedley and I mean to visit your wavering town of Tonbridge. We caused Captain Skinner, who was thence writing to Maidstone, to send to Captain Withers to come and quarter with you for a week or two with his troope, that he may force what we cannot persuade: feare works with some natures more than reason. We suppose he will meet us upon Thursday; if not, certainly he will not faile to be with you before the week expire. With my kind respects, I rest,

Your ready friend to serve you,

Igtham, 6 Dec. 1642.

WM. JAMES.

^a Sir Harry Vane's Kentish seat was Fairlawn in Shipbourne.

^b Sir John Sedley.

IX.

MR. WELLER,—I received your letter dated 18th Novr. wherein I satisfied you by my letter in answer to your former letter dated 17 August, that for the remainder of the moneys not collected by me was charged upon the men of Bawconfold^a and upon Mr. Amhurst,^b the minister. These men of Bawconfold were discharged by an order of Sir John Sedley and my father Seliard,^c for Mr. Amhurst; he was then fled, nothing left to distrain, if so be I had had a warrant: for my part, I did performe what lay in my power. Thus much I have certified my father Seyliard, which I desire you to certifie the other deputy-leiftenants. With my friendly remembrance to you, I remain,

Your loving friend,

Lamberhurst, 9 Dec^r. 1642.

THO. BROCKETT.

X.

CAPTAIN WELLER,—We presume by this time you have raised the company. You therefore are required to march orderly to Arundell, or else conduct them to Captain Woodgate, who shall appoint such officers of his to command them. They are to carry with them one month's pay. Fail not at your perill.

Westram, this 26th Dec^r. 1642.

To our very loving friend, Captain Weller,
or his officers.

ANTH. WELDON.

AUGUSTINE SKINNER.

THO. BLOUNT.

XI.

SIR, our kind respects, &c.—We send you here enclosed a letter to Mr. Porter which we desire you to convey unto him; the contents thereof are to summon all treasurers to bring in their money and

^a Bokinfold, an ancient manor in the parish of Brenchley.

^b Richard Amhurst was collated 25 May, 1641, to the free chapels of Bockinfold and Newsted.

^c Sir Thomas Seyliard of Delaware in Brosted.

plate unto Rochester upon Tuesday next. We desire you therefore to be there with your money and plate (reserving what will be necessary for your own ocasions of Tonbridge), and if you have not yet collected the contributions of Hadlow, we pray you between this and that time to use your best endeavours to gather them in. With our kind respects, we rest,

Your very loving friends,

JOHN SEDLEY.

Ightham, Dec^r. 29, 1642.

WM. JAMES.

XII.

A PARTICULAR of the CONTRIBUTION and SUBSCRIPTION MONEY for the KING and PARLIAMENT in 1642.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
<i>Town and Lowey of Tonbridge.</i>				John Swan	5	0	
Paul Dane	5	0		Richd. Garford	5	0	
George Romney	5	0		Edwd. Jeoffry	10	0	
Thos. Everest	10	0		Reuben Jeoffry	5	0	
James Dyker	10	0		Will. Jeoffry, of Brightbridge . .	5	0	
Thomas Dyker	5	0		John Bassett	10	0	
Will. Larken, servant to David Harris	10	0		John Goodwin	5	0	
Mr. Ashburnar, vicar	1	0	0	John Gibbons, of Capel	1	0	0
Thos. Horn, schoolmaster	1	0	0	John Jeoffry	1	0	0
Will. Johnson, gent. . . .	3	0	0	Joseph Mercer	2	0	0
Tho. Weller, gent. . . .	1	0	0	Tho. Goldsmith	10	0	
Robt. Boardman	10	0		Will. Thorpe	10	0	
Mary Bartlet, widow, lent, in plate	10	0	0	Will. Driver	1	0	0
Tho. Johnson	5	0		Richard Head	10	0	
John Brightling	5	0		Robt. Williamson	1	0	0
Richd. Wood	1	0	0	Will. Mercer	10	0	0
Roger Goulston	1	0	0				
<i>Southborough.</i>				<i>Teudley and Sunningley Borrowghs.</i>			
Mary Dan, widow	1	10	0	Tho. Chamberlain	5	0	
				Tho. Coleman	1	0	0
				John Henwood	1	0	0
				Mr. Wallis, vicar	1	0	0
				Will. Saxbie, gent. . . .	2	0	0

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
John Lampard, gent.	.	.	1 0 0	Will. Everest	.	.	10 0
Robt. Day, lent	.	.	10 0 0	Will. Luck	.	.	1 0 0
Richd. Dan	.	.	1 10 0	Will. Stevenson (Speldhurst)	.	.	5 0
Will. Bartholomew	.	.	1 0 0	John Rigson	.	.	10 0
Michael Hubridge	.	.	1 0 0	Manasies Jesson	.	.	10 0
<i>Barden Burrough.</i>				Tho. Goldsmith	.	.	5 0
Mr. Wilcox	.	.	1 0 0	Jos. Goldsmith	.	.	5 0
James Godden	.	.	1 0 0	John Crundall	.	.	5 0
Will. Hubbard	.	.	10 0	Robt. Goldsmith	.	.	5 0
Joshua Fant, gent.	.	.	10 0	Henry Crundall	.	.	11 0
Christopher Eldridge	.	.	5 0	Richd. Silcock	.	.	1 0 0
Will. Thatcher	.	.	6 8	Richd. Beecher	.	.	5 0
Reuben Jeffry	.	.	5 0	Richd. Cliften	.	.	5 0
Richard Plaisted	.	.	5 0	Richd. Harding	.	.	5 0
Will. Latter	.	.	5 0	Will. Moyse	.	.	5 0
John Polley	.	.	5 0	Danl. Waghorn	.	.	1 0 0
Jno. Godden	.	.	3 0	<i>Hilden Burrough.</i>			
Robt. Wallis	.	.	5 0	Thomas Beecher	.	.	5 0
Wm. Hood	.	.	5 0	John Carpenter	.	.	15 0
James Eldridge	.	.	5 0	John Newington	.	.	10 0
Thomas Latter	.	.	6 0	William Webb	.	.	5 0
<i>Rushall Burrough.</i>				Tho. Atkinson, gent.	.	.	2 0 0
Robt. Curd	.	.	5 0	Geo. Children, senr.	.	.	1 0 0
Will. Jeffry	.	.	5 0	Richd. Goodhugh	.	.	1 10 0
Reuben Jeffry	.	.	1 0 0	Will. Walter	.	.	10 0
<i>Speldhurst Burrough.</i>				Will. Medhurst	.	.	5 0
Mr. Geo. Waller	.	.	5 0	Arthur Children, senr.	.	.	5 0
Richd. Nicholas	.	.	5 0	Geo. Children, junr	.	.	5 0
Robt. Frie	.	.	5 0	Henry Boston	.	.	5 0
Thos. Frie	.	.	5 0	Tho. Webb, batcheller	.	.	10 0
Edwd. Frie	.	.	5 0	Alexander Butcher	.	.	5 0
John Frie	.	.	5 0	Tho. Carpenter	.	.	5 0
Wm. Humphrie	.	.	5 0	Will. Burr	.	.	5 0
Joseph Dustnall	.	.	5 0	John Everest	.	.	5 0
<i>Washlingstone Hundred, Haul Burrough.</i>				John Nicholas, senr.	.	.	5 0
Robt. Fuller	.	.	5 0	John Rigsbie	.	.	5 0
John Godding	.	.	10 0	Tho. Nicholas	.	.	5 0
				Tho. Turner	.	.	5 0
				Nicholas Brooker	.	.	5 0
				John Webb	.	.	5 0

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
<i>Horsemonden Half Hundred.</i>				Tho. Gibbons	1	0	0
John Porter, Esq. in money and				Tho. Thompson		5	0
plate, lent	50	0	0	Stephen Pierson	3	0	0
Alexander Thomas, gent. . .	20	0	0	Tho. Day, lent	7	0	0
Robt. Steed, vicar, lent . .	23	0	0	Tho. Harbridge	1	10	0
John Austen, in plate, lent .	10	0	0	Richd. Wimshurst	2	0	0
Will. Wickes		5	0	David Eagles		10	0
Edwd. Caylie	1	0	0	Thos. Dan	1	0	0
John Perin, clothier	10	0	0	John Day	1	0	0
John Osborne	2	0	0	Francis Nevill		15	0
Will. Maynard	10	0	0	Tho. Stiver		10	0
Tho. Hickmott		5	0	Wm. Walker		10	0
John Stringer	5	0	0	Wm. and Jno. Henly, gent.	3	0	0
Tho. Kirkham	10	0	0	Edwd. Caylie	1	0	0
Tho. Bishop	5	0	0	James Hartridge	1	0	0
Will. and Jno. Barnes . . .	1	0	0	Mathew Hartridge	1	0	0
Geo. Hickmott		1	0	Will. Goldsmith	1	0	0
Thos. Tourt, junr. . . .		5	0				
Richd. Day	1	0	0	<i>West Barnfield.</i>			
Eliz. Turner, widow	10	0	0	Francis Austen		5	0
Isaack Gregory, gent. . . .	2	0	0	John Springdale, junr. . .	1	0	0
Tho. Brockett, gent. . . .	5	0	0	Robt. Bathurst	1	0	0
				Tho. Gibson		5	0
<i>Received of voluntary subscribers not</i>				Tho. Austin		5	0
<i>in the books.</i>				Geo. Beeching		5	0
Of Mr. Wilcocks, of Bidboro' .	1	2	6	Will. Relph		5	0
Of Richd. Frie, of Speldhurst .		5	0				
Of Nathl. Weller, of Tonbridge .		10	0	<i>Hadlow Books, and money subscribed,</i>			
Of Saml. Mersole, of Tonbridge .	1	0	0	<i>1 Octr. 1642.</i>			
Of Richd. Gainsford, of Ashurst		10	0	Imprimis, Anne White . .	5	0	0
Of Mr. Porter, from one unknown		5	0	Mr. William Say	6	13	4
Of Saml. Mapliden, by Mr. Por-				Mr. Henry Lea		2	0
ter's orders	1	0	0	Mrs. Rose Rivers	5	0	0
	4	12	6	Mr. Saml. Grymes	1	0	0
				Mr. Tho. Barton	2	0	0
<i>Brenchley Hundred.</i>				Hellen Barton, widow . .		10	0
Will. Bishop, lent	10	0	0	Henry Barton		10	0
Anthony Hugget	10	0	0	Nic. Hayman		10	0
Will. Wells	5	0	0	James Chamberlain		5	0
				John Chambers		5	0
				Robt. Remington		5	0

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Mary Bishop, widow . . .	1	0	0	Tho. Godfry . . .	5	0	
Will. Lock . . .	1	0	0	Walter Barton . . .	1	0	0
John Wakline . . .	5	0		Solomon Pawley . . .	4	0	
Susan Humphrie . . .	5	0		Nich. Ashdown . . .	10	0	
Will. Wells . . .	4	0		Ferdinand Applebie . . .	1	0	0

A PARTICULAR of the WEEKLY ASSESSMENT, 1642.

<i>Tonbridge.</i> —Will. Johnson, gent.	£	s.	d.
Will. Alchorne, assessors ;			
Will. Denton, Fras. Skeving-			
ton, collectors. Assess	2	0	0

<i>Hilden.</i> — Richard Goodhugh,			
Tho. How, assessors; Tho.			
Atkinson and Will. Medhurst,			
collectors. Assess	3	10	10

<i>Southboro.</i> —Peter Mercer, John			
Fissenden, Jo. Goodwin, as-			
sessors; Andr. Fowns and Jno.			
Curd, collectors. Assess	3	13	8

<i>Hadlow.</i> — Will. Lock, Jno.			
Chambers, Walter Barten, as-			
sessors; Robt. Swan, Wm.			
Pawlie, Jo. Wilkins, collec-			
tors. Assess	3	0	0

<i>West Burnfield.</i> —Robt. Fuller,			
Robt. Bathurst, Fras. Austen,			
assessors; Mat. Harding, Jon.			
Springate, collectors. Assess	3	2	0

<i>Brenchley.</i> —Wm. Hunt, Edwd.			
Cayley, Edwd. Oxlie, Edwd.			
Woodgate, assessors; Walter			
Roberts, gent., James Pope,			
John Hodgekin, Jas. Hart-			
ridge, collectors. Assess	8	4	0

<i>Horsmonden.</i> —Jno. Hope, John			
Austen, Jno. Perrin, assessors;			
Tho. Brock, Thos. Bishop, col-			
lectors. Assess	4	10	0

<i>Tonbridge.</i> —Reed. of Mr. Ske-	£	s.	d.
vington . . .	10	0	0
Of Mr. Thomas . . .	16	0	0

<i>Hilden.</i> —Reed. of Will. Med-			
hurst . . .	6	0	0
Reed. more of do. . .	11	10	0
Reed. more of do. . .	1	8	8
Reed. of Mr. Atkinson . . .	27	2	2
	46	0	10

<i>Southboro.</i> —Reed. of Andr. Fowns	15	0	0
Of do. more . . .	13	0	0
Of John Curd . . .	8	0	0
Of do. more . . .	11	17	8
	47	17	8

<i>Hadlow.</i> —Reed. of Jno. Wil-	£	s.	d.
kins . . .	22	16	1
Of Wm. Pawlie . . .	9	13	4½
Of Robt. Swan . . .	5	17	0
Returned Lord Westmor-			
land for . . .	13	6½	
	39	0	0

<i>West Burnfield.</i> —Reed. of Ma-			
thew Harding and Jno.			
Springate, in full . . .	40	6	0

XIII.

MR. WELLER,—You are to deliver to the bearer hereof, for the payment of Captain George Withers's company according to an order from the committee for the safety of the kingdome, the sum of one hundred twenty-eight pounds six shillings, after which you are to take an acquittance as the order of the committee, which shall be allowed you upon your accompt.

Rochester, 4th Jan^{ry}. 1642.

To our good friend Mr. Weller,
Treasurer, at Tonbridge.

EDWARD HALES.^a

JOHN SEDLEY.^b

WILL. BROOKE.^c

WM. JAMES.

ANTH. WELDON.^d

GEORGE SONS.

^a Sir Edward Hales, Bart. of Woodchurch, died 1654, and was buried at Tunstal, in Kent, where a fine monument was erected with his effigy. Zealous in support of the Parliament, he was the "old severe grandfather" of his successor in the title, Sir Edward Hales, who had also a mother-in-law (the Lady Wotton) of the Parliamentary party, "sour and strict," as Clarendon says (vol. iii. p. 104). The loyal grandson risked his life and fortune—this grandfather's great estate—in endeavouring to rescue Charles I. from captivity in the Isle of Wight.

^b Sir John Sedley, of St. Clere, in Ightham, Knt. and Bart.

^c Sir William Brooke, K.B. of Cranbrooke in Newington, was grandson of the Lord Cobham, K.G.; nephew of Henry Lord Cobham, who died attainted; and son of George Brooke, who was beheaded.

^d Sir Anthony Weldon, of Swanscombe, knighted 10th James I., had a grant from the crown of the castle of Rochester, with all its services.

XIV.

MR. WELLER,—I have sent you by this gentleman, my cornet, an order from the deputie lieutenants for the payment of £128 6s. and an acquittance under my hand for the same. I have also sent you a letter which I thought to have delivered my self at Tonbridge 2 months past, but I have been detained elsewhere. I am (I think by that letter) by word of mouth desired to take directions from you to whom I shall repair as delinquents. I cannot at this time be present myself; give therefore I pray you directions to my cornet, who will faithfully execute what is to be done. I shall be (God willing) at Seaven Oak on Wednesday again, on Thirsday at Maidstone, and with you at Tonbridge as speedily as I can. So with my respects remembered unto you, of whose good affections I hear much, I rest, in haste, your assured friend,

Seaven Oak, Jan^{ry}. 15, 1642.

GEO. WITHER.

XV.

16 Jan^{ry}. 1642.—Received the day and year above written of Mr. Thomas Weller, Treasurer at Tonbridge, for collecting and receiving the money contributed upon the propositions of Parliament, the sum of one hundred twenty and eight pounds and six shillings, according to an order from the comittee for the safety of this kingdome, directed to the deputie lieutenants of this county of Kent. I say received towards the payment of myself, my officers and soldiers £128 6s.

By me, GEO. WITHERS, Captain.

XVI.

17 Jan. 1642-3.—Recognisance of Thomas Weller to “our lord the king” in £1600 before Sir John Sedley, of St. Clere, knight and baronet, and William James of Ightham, Esq.:—

THOMAS WELLER.—The condition of the recognizance is such that if the within bounden Thomas Weller, his heirs and executors, shall and do well and truly content and pay unto the Chamberlain of the city of London for the time being, and to such other person and persons as by an Act of Parliament made in the sixteenth year of our now sovereign lord King Charles, intituled An Act for the raising and levying of moneys for the necessary defence and great affairs of the kingdome of England and Ireland, and for the payments of debts undertaken by the Parliament, are nominated and appointed to receive the first payment of the sum of four hundred thousand pounds granted by the said Act, and at the place in and by the said Act limited and mentioned for the payment of the same, the full and just sum of seven hundred ninety-six pounds seventeen shillings and six pence of lawfull money of England, which the said Thomas Weller stands charged to collect and gather as High Collector of the south division of the lath of Aylesford, in the county of Kent, or so much and such part of the said sum as he the said Thomas Weller shall collect or gather from time to time within one month next after the said Thomas Weller shall have collected and gathered the same, That then this present recognizance to be void and of none effect, or else to remain in full force and virtue.

XVII.

To MR. JAMES.—SIR, I remember you said that there were moneys in your hands of Mr. Weller’s of Tonbridge. I beseech you let this bearer receive it by your warrant and mine untill more of

us come together for Sir Michael Livesey's^a troop, which cannot stir to do service without the pay of his troops, if not officers. I know not the sum in his hands, but have writ you a warrant. I pray fail not in this. Your ever faithfull friend,

ANTH. WELDON.

MR. WELLER,—I pray deliver to this bearer for Sir Michael Livesey to pay his troops upon account the sum of , for which this shall be your warrant for the present, and shall be allowed you upon accompt.

26 Feby. 1642.

ANTH. WELDON.

To our good friend Mr. Weller, Treasurer
for that division in Tonbridge.

XVIII.

MR. WELLER,—My kind respects, &c. I received even now a letter from Sir Anthony Weldon, wherein he says that I told him that there were some of the contribution monies in your hands. I protest I remember not any such passage to have proceeded from me, neither indeed do I think that there are any moneys in your custody more than will be necessary for your own expence; but if there be I pray satisfie Sir Anthony Weldon's letter, and pay unto the bearer John Williams so much as you can spare for the use of

^a Sir Michael Livesey, Knt. was created Baronet 1627. He signed the death warrant of Charles I. but died before the Restoration. After that event an Act of Parliament passed for his attainder and the forfeiture of his estates, which were granted to James Duke of York. He was son of Gabriel Livesey, of Hollingborne, Esq. and Ann his wife, daughter of Sir Michael Sondes. The churchwardens' accounts at Hollingborne contain the following entry:—"Money given to the poor of Hollingborne by the right wor. Gabriell Lyvesey, esquier, in regard of a licence granted to him by the vicar and churchwardens of H. this Lent, 1620, for eating fleshe, he not being well."

Sir Michael Livesey's; and pray satisfie Sir Anthony what plate likewise is in your custody, that in case there be no monies, they may perchance send for that. With my kind respects, I rest, your very loveing friend,

Igham, Feb. 27, 1642.

WM. JAMES.

XIX.

After my very hearty comendations. Both Houses of Parliament having lately passed an ordinance for a new loan and contribution to be had in every county of England and Wales towards the relief of the kingdome of Ireland (which at this present is in a most distressed condition), have also given order for printing and publishing the same, as you may perceive by the printed copies sent unto you, which, that they may take the better effect and produce some speedy succour to our distressed brethren in that kingdome, and the army raised and sent thither for their defence, the House of Commons have given an order to recomend unto your care and best endeavors the advancement of this so pious and charitable a worke, tending so much to the safety of all his majesty's kingdomes and the Protestant religion in them, and to desire you the commissioners named in the late Act of Parliament for raising the subsidy of £400,000 in your county to assemble yourselves in every division thereof, two at the least, with as much speed as you may, and then to receive from the messengers that shall be employed hence for that purpose a fit number of the printed copys of that ordinance, and to appoint the high constable of every hundred to distribute them to the churchwardens and overseers of every parish in their precincts, to the end they may be publicly read in every parish church and chapell, and the effect thereof observed in all particulars for the best advantage. And that you appoint some fit person in every hundred of your county, who with the assistance of the said high constable (taking notice of what is either lent or given within their several precincts) may by your orders and directions give advertisement thereof to the

committee for the affairs of Ireland, and bring both the money and commoditys that shall be so lent or given to some convenient places and storehouses in your county, to be appointed by you, for the most comodious bringing them to the treasurers of London, or otherwise disposing of them into the kingdome of Ireland as shall be directed. And what you shall think fit to be allowed to the persons necessarily employed in that county about this affair the House will take care that the same shall be given them, and will acknowledge your care and industry therein, and in what else may advance the service, as an eminent token of your good affection to the true Protestant religion and the publick good. And so I rest your very loving friend,
Westminster, 1^o Marcii, 1642. WILLM. LENTHALL, Speaker.

To my very loving friends the Commissioners in the county of Kent and city and county of Canterbury named in an Act of this present Parliament for the raising and levying of moneys for the necessary defence and great affairs of the kingdomes of England and Ireland for payment of debts undertaken by the Parliament.

XX.

MR. WELLER,—I received the enclosed yesterday from London, whereby you may see that there is a meeting of the deputy-lieutenants at the Crown at Rochester on Tuesday next, being the 21st day of this present March, where you are desired and required to be also with your accompts, and further as is in the letter herein required, and that you summon Mr. Say to be there to give account for Hadlow, and that the money may be there also, and such other as received the same for him. I pray send this original letter to Sir John Rivers forthwith, whereto their proper hands are, and keep you the copy thereof here with you for your own direction for being not only present, but as I conceive with a full account. Thus I pray your care thereof. I intend (God willing) to meet you at Rochester at the time appointed, so I hope will Sir John Rivers if you forthwith

send it him, for his own letter could not be conveyed from London to him it appeareth. And so, in haste, I rest your loveing ffriend,
 March, 1642. JOHN PORTER.

XXI.

HONOURED GENTLEMEN,—We have thought fit to acquaint you that lately, by several orders of the House of Commons, it is commanded that the deputy-lieutenants of our countie should, with all expedition at place and time convenient, call before them the several treasurers for the subscription on the propositions of every respective lath and division, requiring them to bring in their accounts, together with such sums of money and plate as remaineth in their hands in ballance of their said account. And that they, the said treasurers, give their summons to such captains or others unto whom they have issued any moneys in account, then to bring in their said account, that so we may complete the whole account of the subscriptions to be presented to our house. To which purpose we have agreed to meet at the Crown at Rochester on Tuesday next, by noon, being the 21st of this instant March, when we desire you not to fail to give us a meeting, in regard there will be speciall occasion for us to advise together of some other business of great concernment for settling of the peace and safety of this county, and that you enjoin the above said treasurers (and they to summon the aforesaid captains and others) with their said accounts, moneys, and plate, to attend at the said meeting. So, with our hearty salutes, we rest, your very loveing ffriends,
 Westminster, 14th March, 1642.

To the deputy-leivtenants
 of the county of Kent.

R. WROTH.^a

EDWD. HALES.

RICH. LEE.^b

MICHL. LIVESEY.

AUGUST: SKINNER.

T. WALSINGHAM.

RICH. BROWN.^c

^a Probably of Blendon Hall in Bexley.

^b Of Great Delce in Rochester, for which city he was M.P. in the Long Parliament.

^c Of Great Chart, M.P. for Romney in the Long Parliament.

XXII.

KENT SS.—The accompt of Thomas Weller, one of the treasurers for the contribution money, within the lath of Aylesford, viz., for the lowie of Tonbridge, hundred of Washlingstone, hundred of Brenchly, half-hundred of Horsmonden, and hundred of West Barnfield, delivered up to the 21st day of March, Anno Domini 1642.^a A°. R. Car. xvij°.

	£	s.	d.
Imprimis, the said accomptant is charged with the money and plate in the book subscribed, being in all the sum of	281	2	0
Item, received more, being not in the book, but by voluntary contributors, as by the particulars mentioned to these presents affixed appeareth		4	12 6
Sum total of the charge	285	14	6

THE DISCHARGE.

Imprimis, the said accomptant hath received a warrant under the hands of the right worshipful the deputation-leivtenants of the county, bearing date the 27th day of October, 1642, for the safe guarding of the bridges in Tonbridge, and allowance appointed to be paid, after the rate of two pounds seventeen shillings and four pence by

^a This was 21 March, 1642-3. On 10 June, 1642, the Parliament published proposals for bringing in money or plate (at 8 per cent.) for the defence and "peace, &c." of the kingdom. This was what the Royalists considered to be the first declaration of war on the Parliament's side. The people were so ready to comply that the sums brought in, including plate, &c., amounted to upwards of eleven millions. (Rapin, vol. ii. p. 456.) The King, by letter to the Lord Mayor, forbade the citizens to lend any money to the Parliament.

the week, which from that time to the 24th day of £ s. d.
 March, 1642, is for one and twenty weeks, for all which
 time this accomptant humbly prayeth allowance accord-
 ing to the said warrant, which amounteth to the sum of 60 4 0

Item, this accomptant upon a warrant to him directed
 by the right worshipful the deputie-leivtenants of this
 county of the 4th January, 1642, did pay to Captain
 Withers the sum of 128 6 0

Item, this accomptant paid for bringing of three letters
 from Mr. James to Tonbridge, and which were speedily
 to be sent to Sir John Rivers and Mr. Porter, and for
 sending them away by a messenger on purpose . 0 4 0

Item, Mr. Horne,^a schoolmaster, of Tonbridge, is
 charged with 20s. which as by an acquittance shewed
 to this accomptant is by Mr. Horne paid to Mr. Taylor
 of Yalding, and by him together with some other free
 contributions paid unto Captain Skinner, so this accompt-
 ant prayeth that the same may be to him deducted, viz. 1 0 0

Item, Mary Bartlett, widow, was to pay ten pounds
 in plate. She is long since removed to dwell at Maid-
 stone, and the said accomptant, although he hath often
 sent for the same, cannot receive it, but is informed by
 letters from her that she hath paid it at London for the
 use aforesaid, but this accomptant hath not seen any
 acquittance therefor; yet, for that he cannot receive it,
 humbly craveth an abatement and allowance therefor
 upon this account, viz. 10 0 0

Item, the said accomptant did, by the direction of Sir
 John Rivers and Mr. Porter, send a man to the Par-
 liament for speaking scandalous and dangerous words
 against the honourable House. The charges for his keeping

^a Thomas Horne, who had been master of the school at Leicester, resigned
 Tonbridge school 1646, on being appointed master of Eton.

at Tonbridge six days, for three horses to go with him £ s. d.
and two men for three days, and their expences in that
dangerous time, as appeareth by the bill thereof, cometh to 2 14 6

Item, this accomptant did, by virtue of his former
warrant, make stay of about ten gentlemen coming out
of France going as they pretended for London, and
upon examination and search found great cause of sus-
picion in them, and accordingly sent them to the Parlia-
ment to be further examined. The charges of four men
to conduct them, their horses, and expence for three days,
as by the particular bill appeareth, cometh to . 3 9 11

Item, the said accomptant prayeth that divers sums of
money, amounting in all to the sum £13 15s., which is
not yet paid to him, this accomptant, although demanded,
may be respited to the said accomptant, untill he shall
have received the same, the particulars of which sums,
and of the parties from whom the same ought to be paid,
are expressed in a bill here presented with this accompt,
and amounteth to the sum of . . . 13 15 0

Sum total of discharge . . 219 13 5

Remaineth due upon this account . 66 1 1

Whereof in plate 106 ounces 1^{qr}. which, £ s. d.
after the rate of 5s. 4d. per ounce, cometh to 28 6 8
And in ready money . . . 37 14 3

66 0 11

A particular of such monies as I have received, not being charged
in the book, yet accompted for as aforesaid.

Imprimis, of Mr. Wilcocks, of Bidborough . . £ s. d.
Item, of Richard Frie, of Ashurst . . 1 2 6
Item, of Nathaniel Weller, of Tonbridge . . 0 5 0
Item, of Nathaniel Weller, of Tonbridge . . 0 10 0

	£	s.	d.
Item, of Nathanl. Attersole, of Tonbridge . . .	1	0	0
Item, of Richard Gainsford, of Ashurst . . .	0	10	0
Item, received by Mr. Porter from one I know not . .	0	5	0
Item, of Mr. Samuel Mapliden, of Lamberhurst . .	1	0	0
	4	12	6

XXIII.

SIR,—My kind respects, &c. I have returned your accounts, which were approved, and likewise a dismission of the bridge guard for the present. We have not signed any warrant for the drawing the plate and money out of your hands, but leave them there untill some more urging and pressing occasion. You shall find in your box the warrant for your sub-collector sealed, which you left behind you. I pray, with as much speed as you can, return me the sesses again, at least the paper which is of my handwriting, whereof there will be present use. With my kind respects, I rest, your affectionate friend to serve you,

Ightham, 24 March, 1642.

WM. JAMES.

XXIV.

MR. WELLER,—You are to deliver to Sir Michael Livesey the parcell of plate in your custody received from Sir John Rivers, which is to amount to the sum of £50, and you are to take a note of the just number of ounces under the hand of Sir Michael Livesey, that so we may know the loss which will be in the sale for a deduction in the account; for which this shall be your sufficient warrant.

THO. WALSINGHAM. WILL. BROOK.

ANTH. WELDON. EDWD. BOYS.

WILLM. JAMES. THO. SEYLIARD.

Rochester, 6 April, 1643.

AUGUSTINE SKINNER.

XXV.

SIR,—My kind respects, &c. I have returned you the books again, which I desire you to dispatch with as much convenient speed as you can, for there will be frequent use of them. I have likewise sent you some warrants for the weekly contribution, which I would desire you to disperse unto the constables near about you, unto whom likewise send the coppies of the ordinnance for Ireland, according to the number of the parish churches within their jurisdiction. What your expence is therein let it be put upon account. With my best respects, I rest, your affectionate friend to serve you,
9 Aprill, 1643. WM. JAMES.

XXVI.

April 14th, 1643.—Received of Mr. Weller in plate, a deep bason, a sugar box and spoone weighing 46 ounces and an half and half-quarter; also one ewer weighing 33 ounces half and half-quarter; also one great bason weighing 63 ounces and a quarter: in all one hundred fourty-three ounces and an half, comeing from Sir John Rivers.
M. LIVESEY.

XXVII.

SIR,—My kind respects, &c. I have sent this messenger on purpose for the copy of the sesses, whereof there is present use to-morrow. You may have them again next week. I would gladly some occasion would draw you this way, for I have somewhat from the Comittee to impart unto you. You shall find me at home on Monday, Wednesday, or Thirsday next. You will receive directions to deliver Sir John Rivers £50 worth of plate to Sir Michael Livesey. With my kind respects, I rest, your affectionate friend to serve you,
Aprill 17, 1643. WM. JAMES.

I pray seale up the sesses carefully.

CONTRIBUTIONS FOR IRELAND FROM TONBRIDGE, JUNE 1643. 25

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Goodwith, Anne, Sarah, Kath. and			Will. Hubbert	1	6
John, their children	2	6	John Bassett	1	0
Humphrey Couchman	1	6	Edwd. Jeffry	1	0
Henry Bostock	2	6	John Chambers	1	0
Alexr. Butcher	1	0	Richd. May	0	9
Will. Larkyn	2	0	John Bannester	1	0
Arthur Children, senr. . . .	4	0	John Jeffry	3	0
Geo. Children, junior	3	0	Widow Dive	2	0
Daniel Nicholl	2	6	Widow Dive	1	6
Thos. Webb, batchelor	5	0	Will. Pack	1	0
John Rigsbie	3	4	Will. Waghorne	1	6
Mathew Parker	1	6	John Burdett	1	6
Stephen Hoadly	1	0	John Lewin	1	0
James Jessop	2	6	John Curd	1	0
John Webb, junr. . . .	2	6	Mary Tye	2	6
Thos. Webb, of Trips Cross	1	6	Will. Jeffrey	1	6
<i>Southborough.</i>			Reuben Jeffrey	1	0
Richd. Plaisted	2	0	Will. Groombridge	1	0
Robert Williamson	2	6	Edward Wooden	0	8
Richard Head	2	0	Tho. Worsley	1	6
Thos. Weare	1	6			
			Sum total	£11	16 7

Received by us, the treasurers appointed by an ordinance of Parliament of 30 January, 1642, for a new loan and contribution for the relief of Ireland, of John Brightling and Thomas Goldsmith, churchwardens of the parish of Tonbridge, in the county of Kent, the sum of £11 16s. 7d., which is paid in by them as so much money given for that purpose, according to the tenor and effect of that ordinance. So we say received,

BEN. GOODWYN.

XXIX.

To the Constables of the lowey of Tonbridge, the hundred of Wachlingtone and Littlefield, and all others his Majesty's officers whom it may concern.

These are to charge and command you to apprehend the body of (*a blank*) Jay, of East Peckham, and all others that have deserted

their colours, haveing taken the pay of this county and listed themselves in the regiment sent from Bromley unto his Excellency's army, and them so apprehended to bring before us, or one of us, to be further dealt withall according to the comand of both Houses of Parliament; and hereof faile not at your utmost perill. Dated this 19 June, 1643.

JOHN SEDLEY.

This warrant is to be kept by Mr. Weller, and
coppys thereof to be sent to the several con-
stables above written.

WM. JAMES.

XXX.

A true relation of the cariage at the Insurrection made at Sen'noak, upon Tuesday, the 18th day of July, 1643, as much as concerneth myself.

Upon Tuesday, the 18th day of July, 1643, the deputy-leiftenants of this county appointed a meeting at Malling, in Kent, where I was required to attend them; and, being come thither, I heard that there was an insurrection made at Se'noak, and that the deputy-leiftenants were gone to Rochester, as was conceived. Whereupon I, fearing the evil affections of divers lewd persons in our town of Tonbridge, repaired immediately back thither, and getting two or three well affected men in my company searched what persons were in the town, and finding diverse of Great Peckham, Little Peckham, Ightham, Hadlow, and other partes, being persons but of very mean quality, partly by persuasion and partly by force I compelled them to leave the town; and hearing that Francis Skeffington and Tristram Thomas had sent for the drummer to beat the drum to raise the people, I went to the drummer's house, gave an especiall charge that the drum should not be beaten without special direction of some of the deputy-leiftenants, protesting that if any man should presume to do the contrary, I would shoote him in the street (which words afterwards brought me in great danger of my life). And accordingly I staid in the street, to the intent no stir might be made, untill towards night, and then was sent for to attend Sir Henry

Vane and Mr. James^a at Fairlane,^b whither being come I there staid till it was evening, and then received further order to come thither again next morning early, to attend those gentlemen to Sevenoak; whither being come, and being by them required to go into the town before them, which I accordingly did do, although I confess I could have been contented to have been further off, and was very sorry that those gentlemen would put themselves into the hands of such villains, more like madd dogs then men. And being come into the town, and having passed some of their guard, I was at last taken prisoner by some which well knew my good affection to the deputy-leiftenants, and being dismounted of my horse, my sword taken from me, and myself shut up in a chamber. Sir Henry Vane, Mr. James, and Sir Isaak Sedlie^c came into the town, and after some communication with the rebells I was permitted to come to those gentlemen; but Sir Henry Vane, Mr. James, and Sir Isaak Sedlie being gone to the Vine, I was left in the town, and kept with a strong guard about me. And certain base fellows bound themselves with an oath presentlie to kill me, and accordingly came with their drawne swords into my chamber, swearing great oaths they would run me through; but God was pleased to restraine their force, and after I had used much perswasions, and shewed the great care and vigilance of those gentlemen for their country's safety, and what great pains they had taken for our defence and preservation, and withal pulled out of my pockett the copy of a petition and remonstrance which I had formerly drawne and presented to some of the said gentlemen, which when I had read I gave them satisfaction that those gentlemen had been pleased to afford their best assistance for our defence. Those that came with the mind to destroy me were now altered in their opinions. And being in this

^a William James, Esq. of Ightham Court, Kent. His son, Sir Demetrius James, was knighted by Charles II.

^b Fairlawn, the seat of Sir Harry Vane.

^c Sir Isaac Sedley, of Great Chart, Knt., created Baronet 1621, son and heir apparent of Sir John Sedley, Knight and Baronet of St. Cleere, before mentioned at p. 12.

communication, Gransden, the first mover of this rebellion, came into the chamber tearing his hair, and tumbling himself upon the bed, swearing and raving like a madman, and telling me that Sir Henry Vane, Sir Isaak Sedlie, and Mr. James were in great danger to be murdered upon the Vine, and that if no course was taken they would be slaine, which I confess did at first very much daunt me; but, considering that it was no time to dally with things of that nature, and more fit to endeavour a speedy remedy, the case requiring it, than to lament the misery of our condition, I presently made him this answer: "Mr. Gransden, you may see what it is for a man to take upon him things which are too weighty for him, and to meddle with that he understandeth not. It is an easy thing to bring misery upon a kingdome, and to begin many things before we know the end of any. You have been the cause of this rising, and now you see you can bear no more rule than another man. If those noble gentlemen's blood should be spilt in this inhuman manner, their coming hither for the safety of their country, and to give you all reasonable satisfaction, whereas they might have kept themselves far away from you, assure yourselves the odiousness of the fact will be such as will bring utter dessolation on your selves, your houses, familys, wives, and children, which will be burnt and destroyed in revenge of such a horrid act." Upon this all those which were present swore they would all die before such gentlemen should miscarry, and accordingly presently run down the staires, and left me alone; and within some short time after, Sir Henry Vane, Sir Isaak Sedlie, and Mr. James came safely into the house, and after some agitation by the gentlemen concerning some demands of the rebells, Sir Henry Vane was dismissed to London, and Sir Isaak Sedly, Mr. James, and some other gentlemen and myself were still detained by the rebells. And towards night it pleased God that Gransden did permit me to go out of town, restored me my horse and sword, and let me out of the , and returned back to discharge Sir Isaak Sedlie and Mr. James, which I conceive was accordingly done.

After my discharge I presently repaired to my house at Tonbridge, whither being no sooner come then I was sent for by Sir John Rivers^a to come to him in the town, who had called up his trained band thither; with whom staying and discoursing, being at Mr. Petly's^b house, Mr. Petlie came to me and told me that diverse of those fellows which had been at Se'noak, and were then newly returned, and diverse of our town, were going to plunder my house. Whereupon I presently ran out of the back door, and got into my house, locked the doors, put on armour, charged diverse pieces, called my servants to stand upon defence, which we accordingly did. The rebels, being by that time come before my house, demanded entrance, which was denied by me; and after I think about half an hour's time, they still guarding my house and threatening with many oaths to destroy me and all that I had if I did not let them in, I as boldly defying them, there was one Mr. Mapletoft, a great agent in the business, persuaded them to leave me for that time untill they were stronger, saying in my hearing "Come away, come away; you may chance to kill him at last, but he will first spoile many of you, for he is very strong." And thereupon for that night they left my house, setting men in guard at a distance about it, swearing great oaths they would be for me next morning. The chief of those persons that thus abused me was Mr. Francis Skeffington^c and Thomas Field, who did bear me a spleene for a suit I had formerly prosecuted against him for my clyent, and he was then very earnest to have them shoot at me or to fire my house.

The next day, being Thirsday, they summoned me again to deliver up my armes, and to permit them to enter my house, all which I utterly refused to do unless I had a command for it from some of the deputy-lieftenants; and about three or four o'clock that

^a Sir John Rivers, of Chafford in Penshurst, created Baronet 1621.

^b Probably Ralph Petley, Esq. of Riverhead near Sevenoaks, is the gentleman alluded to.

^c Third son of John Skeffington, Esq. of Dachurst *alias* Hildenburgh in Tonbridge.

day they caused Sir John Rivers to come to my house, which I verily conceive he did on purpose to save my life (as he after said to me, for that he heard the rebells often sware they would kill me). Sir John called to me; I answered him at a window; he desired that he might speak to me in private. I refused to come to him unless I might have assurance safely to return to my house, and in the mean time not to be molested there; which being faithfully promised I went out to speak with Sir John, and being in discourse with him one Haule, a barber, liveing then at Hadlow, and now at Shoreham, endeavored to have shot me with a piece, and had done it if Sir John Rivers had not laid his hand upon the piece, and so stayed him; and immediately certain persons, whereof Field was the chief, entered my house, and violently tooke from me four cosletts, 5 pikes, 4 or 5 swords, a carbine, a pistol, a flask or two with powder, one muskett, certain bandileers, and other small armes, giving me many threatening speeches, and using opprobrious terms against me, and immediately, having chosen Mr. John Lea for their captain, went out to exercise in the field.

Sir John Rivers and my self being left alone, we fell in discourse, and bemoaning our own present condition and the madness of the people; but, remembring the danger the gentlemen were in at Se'noak, I perswaded Sir John Rivers to take the opportunity of time, and to get out of town whilst the rebells were in the field, which he with all speed did, but was not gone half a mile before diverse of the rebells came to apprehend him. And that night I, haveing a great deal of the Parliament money in my hands, and certain powder and other armes which the rebells had not found, I determined to secure it as well as I could, and accordingly in the night time hid up the money in the garden, and hid up two musketts, a barrell of Battell powder of 10 lb. weight, with bandileers, match, and as much other powder as conveniently I could, under many faggots in the barne, throwing much wood and hay over them, and caused my men to bury the greatest part of my shot in the orchard, which was accordingly done, and there they lie at this time.

Upon Friday morning early the rebels again came to my house, the ringleader being Field, who swore many oaths that I had more armes and powder and shott, which he would have, the constables being with him; and thereupon they got the powder which remained, and some few shott, although they were not satisfied with that, for Field still swore that I had more, to which I answered that I had more pieces, but they were left for the guard of the bridge, where they still remained, which gave them some satisfaction, although they were still provoked by Field to use some strict course with me.

Upon Saturday morning early, being in my study, the doore locked to me, suddenly about twenty persons, whereof one Parry, a smith of Crayford, one other smith of Earith, and one Smale were chiefs, with their pistols ready cocked, their swords drawn, matches cocked in their musketts, entered my house swearing many oaths they would have me alive or dead: and immediately they fell to plundering my house, breaking open chests and trunks and presses, taking away the greatest part of my linen, all my cloathes, the apparell of myself and wife, she being then lame a-bed of a broken leg, and thrust my linnen and other things into sacks which they brought with them, and laid them upon horses, and rode away with them. I, keeping myself in my study, heard Parry say to Smale, "We have sped well here. Let us go to Hadlow and Peckham, and plunder there, for they are rich rogues, and so we will go away into the woods;" to whom Smale replied, "But we must plunder none but Roundheads." Parry replied with a great oath, "We will make every man a Roundhead that hath any thing to lose. This is the time we look for." Upon Friday one Chalklin, who did bear me an old and inveterate malice, thinking to have his will at me, being one of the chiefest stirrers and actors in that rebellion, and, having caused many men to take an oath to be for the King, a little before night came up the town, crieing out with a loud voice, "You are all undone; you are all undone; you are all betrayed." And, having gotten many about him who required to know what he meant, he said, You have let the rogue Weller escape, and he is

gone over the Meade to bring all Morley's troop and the Cranbrook Roundheads upon you; he will destroy you all;" and confirmed it with many oaths. Whereupon the rude multitude presently were enraged, and swore to destroy all that ever I had, and to pull my wife out of her bed by the hair, and prepared themselves accordingly; but it pleased God that one Hayman of Hadlow, hearing the stirr, stepped to them, and told them what Chalklin had alleged was utterly false, and out of malice to me, affirming that I was in my house, and that he came then from me; whereupon they staid their force, and sent to see if it were true, and finding it so to be Chalklin was frustrate of his purpose, and myself, by the great mercies of God, preserved.

Thus I continued in my house untill it pleased God the Parliament forces came, and upon Monday, the 24th of July, beat the rebells, and delivered me from danger. During the time of the fight I was in my house with divers well affected of my neighbours, praying for the good success of the Parliament; and when the Parliament forces had gained the town, Sir Henry Vane, Sir John Sedley, and Mr. James and Sir Isaak Sedley came ride down to my house, and by their care preserved me from further plunder, the sight of which worthy gentlemen did not a little revive my heart, after my so sad a condition.

I confess it was the great providence of God that escaped my life. I often heard the rascall rebells sweare I should be hanged at my owne doore, calling me Roundheaded Rogue, Parliament Dog, and that I was a great acquaintance of Sir John Sedley's, and often repaired to his house.

After the fight, some of the rogues of our town went to Rotherfield, in Sussex, and there telling how the town was taken by the Parliament forces, said that Vane and James and Weller had betrayed them, and that if they had hanged us up when they had us in their power all had been well.

[Various reflections and observations in defence of the writer's

conduct on this occasion are here omitted. He attributes the attack upon him principally to "particular malice," on which subject he writes thus:—]

And this will plainly appear, if we consider first the particular malice in whom it consisteth; first, in Thomas Field, a man against whom I have heretofore prosecuted many suits for recovery of just debts in behalf of diverse of my neighbours, and have been forced to distrain him for quit rents, which I am to collect, for which causes he hath often vowed revenge upon me. And for Tucker, he is a man I scarce know, and but of late, although too long since for our countries quiet, he came into it, but he is set on by Robert Day, whom I now sue upon a bond of £40, at the suit of one Wiston, for which Day hath oftentimes been at me to stay the suite, the which I have as much as in me lieth persuaded my client to do, but he being determined to bring it to a tryal, Day of late hath threatened me, and often given out in speeches that I had better have let that suit alone, and that he would make me smart for it, if I did not cause my client to agree.

For the second cause, it will plainly appear, if we consider so the daily threatening and venting of malice against me by those hellish malignants, for no particular cause, but only for that I am not of their side, as can be testified by diverse credible witnesses, and especially, since the last rebellion, when Major Skeffington was commanded out of town, he sent for me and desired me to take care for the safeguard of the town in his absence, which service I was ready to doe, and having a warrant made to that purpose, our trained bands being marched away, I called my neighbours together, and by the advice of our minister, and of diverse other well-affected persons, I sent into our neighbouring burroughs for some assistance of men and armes, and within eight hours space we had near upon two hundred men, many of them well armed; those I divided into several squadrons, under several commanders, those that were men of unquestionable affections; set every one on their several quarters, furnished them with match, powder, and bullet, and many armes at

my own charge, and maintained many of them with meat and drink, sent out scouts towards those parts I feared any danger might proceed, and every day was employed to see all things well ordered; this was no small charge to me, and had it been much more, to have done my country service, I should not any way have repined at it.

This my care hath anew roused up those enemies to me and my country to take some course to destroy me, or at least to prevent any other further the like actions, if any the like occasions should happen; and to that end have combined anew with my old enemy Field, who hath again conceived some cause of displeasure against me, for that, he being examined by Major Skeffington upon very great [suspicion] to have had an hand in this last rebellion, the Major asked me what I thought of the man? I answered, that he was the only active man in the first rebellion, and had plundered my house three several times, and was very like to have slaine me in my own house. Upon this all those enemies plotted to work something in revenge against me, but I fear not but that the honourable Committee, as God hath given them power and legall authority for the preservation of the country in general, and as they will have an especiall care for to punish offenders by the rule of justice, so they will with an equall respect protect and defend the innocent from the devouring plott of most merciless men, their false and most malicious accusers.

Whose malice will the more plainly appear, if they were asked whether or not they have taken the covenant? and when they so took it? if they have not taken it, let the world judge if they be fitting accusers of those which have taken it.

If they have taken it lately, it shews the rottenness of their heads that they took it not before. If they have taken it longer time, how could they dispense with that sacred oath, made and attested in the great and most holy name of the Lord our God, in not discovering those things untill now, when they are provoked thereunto by their own malice?

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XXXI.

Whereas, we are informed that in the late seditious assembly at Tonbridge, when, by the blessing of God, the said tumultuous and riotous persons were dispersed, diverse armes, both muskets and pikes, were left behind them, and cast away in their flight. These are therefore to desire you to make enquiry after such armes, and to seize upon them for the use and service of the publick, and them safely to keep in your custody untill you shall receive further orders from the deputy-leiftenants of this county, for which this shall be your sufficient warrant. Dated 31 July, 1643.

JOHN RIVERS.

To our very loveing friend, Mr. Thomas Weller,
of Tonbridge.

JOHN SEDLEY.

WM. JAMES.

XXXII.

MR. WELLER,—What money soever is in your hands of what receipt soever, you are presently to bring to us at Rochester, when you shall have an acquittance; in the mean time this shall be your warrant.

Rochester, 2nd Augt. 1643.

JOHN SEDLEY.

M. LIVESEY.

To our very loveing friend,
Mr. Weller.

ANTH. WELDON.

^a RIC. HARDRES.^b MARKE DIXWELL. AUGUSTINE SKINNER.

JO. BOYCE.

^a Sir Richard Hardres, Knt. was created Bart. June 3, 1642. He was the representative of a very ancient family long seated at Upper Hardres, where there are many monuments for them. They held the manor by knight's service of the Castle of Tonbridge, which was the ancient seigniory of the Clares Earls of Gloucester.

^b Mark Dixwell, of Brome in Basham, Esq. son of William Dixwell, of Coton in Warwickshire, whose younger brother Basil, created a Baronet in 3 Chas. I., bought Brome of Leonard Diggs, Esq. On the death of Sir Basil *s. p.* the baronetcy became extinct, but he devised his estates to his nephew the above-mentioned Mark. His son Basil Dixwell was created a Baronet in 1660.

Aug. 3rd, 1643. Received of Mr. Thomas Weller, of Tonbridge, the sum of £315, which are moneys put in my hands for the service of the country, I say received, per me, WILLM. MAN.

XXXIII.

SIR,—My kind respects, &c. Sir Henry Vane and ourselves intend to be with you upon Thursday to make an essay what encouragement we shall receive from the county to put ourselves in a posture of defence, for which purpose I have sent you three warrants, which I desire you with all speed to send to Sir John Rivers, Mr. Seyliard, and Mr. Porter, and get their hands to them, and then disperse them severally. We desire you also to be active in procuring a good appearance, and to beget a readiness in the people in this so necessary a worke. Let Sir John Rivers be desired to bring the list of his trained bands with him, which will be some direction unto us in the business. With my kind respects, I rest, your affectionate friend to serve you,

Augt. 5, 1643.

WM. JAMES.

Let Edwd. Woodgate be desired to make an appearance there of his dragoons, or at Southboro; it may perchance be an encouragement to excite others in the business.

I would gladly have you disperse the warrants so early in the morning that some of them may be certified in the churches in the afternoon, though they have but one hand more unto such.

(*On the superscription*) Let this and the bearer pass. WM. JAMES.

XXXIV.

MR WELLER,—My best respects, &c. I have information sent me from London, from a good hand, that one Mr. Cooke, son unto Mr. Lambert Cook, lyes in your town to discover the affections of the people how they stand affected to the King, for believe me there

is a design to send 1,000 horse amongst us suddenly. If you can apprehend this gentleman you shall do a piece of good service. I pray send me word whether Sir Wm. Springate^a be yet come to your town or no. I pray God preserve us in these bad times. Mr. Pym is in much danger of death. My Lord Say has a petition put in against him in the House of Commons, which is to be reported on Monday. Farewell, your loveing friend,

Saturday night, 7 o'clock.^b

WM. JAMES.

XXXV.

SIR,—My kind respects, &c. I must yet once again recommend the late information to your care, for I have a fresh intelligence that young Cooke^c came over at Lambeth upon Wednesday last, and resolved to lye at Tonbridge 5 or 6 days, and there did expect correspondence in a party of gentry: he is a great favourite of Prince Rupert's. He rides upon an excellent grey mare, wears a white hat and a red coat, long hair and brownish; enquire whether any such have been at the inns or at Denton's. If Springate's company be not with you they will certainly to-morrow; the beginning of the next week I will see you. Yesterday^d my Lord General with 13 lords and earles more took the covenant at Westminster Abby, when Dr. Temple preached, and to encourage them they received news that afternoon that Sir Thomas Fairfax and Cromwell had defeated

^a Sir William Springate, Knt. married Mary, daughter and heir of Sir John Proude, Knt. and by her was the father of Gulielma-Maria Springate, wife of the celebrated William Penn. Lady Springate married secondly Isaac, son of Sir Isaac Pennington, Knt., and became a Quakeress. (See the Gentleman's Magazine for Oct. 1851, p. 365.)

^b It may be inferred from the subsequent letter that this was Saturday the 14th October, 1643.

^c This gay cavalier was son of Lambert Cook, Esq. of Mount Mascall, in North Cray; John, his eldest son, would be at this time about 26 years of age.

^d The covenant was taken by the House of Lords on the 16th October, 1643.

and wholly routed fourscore troops of horse belonging to the Marquess of Newcastle, and Henderson, the Governor of Newark, killed between 5 and 600 upon the place, took 600 prisoners, who now remain in Boston Church, and which is most strange, it is said, not above 10 slaine on the Parliament side. At the first charge Cromwell was knockt down, and his horse killed, but he regained another horse and hath no hurt. This was done between Bullinbrook and Horncastle, in Lincolnshire. This was performed by our horse only, our foot not being engaged at all, for the enemy's stood not above half an hour, and then ran away; the General and Waller are upon good terms, and will go out of the city to-morrow or next day. I pray dispatch away my messenger, for I stay his return, before I go to Rochester. Your ready friend to serve you,

Monday^a night.

WM. JAMES.

XXXVI.

MR. WELLER,—You may see the danger approaching by this letter sent unto me, and the inclosed. I pray refuse not this choice made of you for the service of the King and country and Parliament—shew yourself a prompt man and courageous undertaker for all; my self am old and not fit to be exposed to labour and travail, and therefore have thought fit to acquaint you with the intentions of the deputie-leivtenants. I pray with all speed repair to Mr. Gregory, and demand of him a list of the company which I lately had, but now for this occasion very willing * * that warrants may be instantly issued forth and have all in readiness against Saturday, and have sent blank papers with my hand set to for that no dissatisfaction may appear, my self intending, God willing, to appear and be ready to-morrow morning to shew my self at Tonbridge; in the mean time let warrants this night be sent that we

^a Probably the Monday alluded to was the 16th October, 1643, although the writer speaks of the transactions of Monday as those of the day preceding.

may have as many as can be had, appear at Tonbridge, by 1 o'clock in the afternoon. This letter came to my hand about 3 o'clock this afternoon, this fast day. Farewell.

From Chafford, 25 die Oct^{is}. 1643, post meridiem hora 4^a.

Per me, JOHN RIVERS.

XXXVII.

HONOURED SIR,—We having intelligence of imminent danger approaching. We desire that a general muster be called of all the trained soldiers and volunteers, both horse and foot, of your lath, to be at the ordinary place of rendezvous on Pickenden Heath, on Thirsday next, that if their design be for this county, it may be in a better posture for its defence. We desire you to issue your warrants to all your captains or to some other officers of each company to appear, that no default be made thereof, and then, if you hear of the enemies approach, to give orders to your captains or other officers to exercise their companies every three or four days, untill it be known where this cloud will fall. And so, not doubting your care herein, we are, your most humble servants,

P.S.—We desire you to deliver the enclosed commission to Mr. Weller, of Tonbridge, and desire him also to appear at Pickenden Heath, at the time appointed, with his company.

M. LIVESEY.

WM. JAMES.

WM. BOOTHBY,^a &c.

Maidstone, 25 Oct^r. 1643.

XXXVIII.

MR. WELLER,—The deputy-leivtenants expect that you should take the charge of that part of Sir John Rivers' company that was appointed to you, for which you are speedily to repair to Tonbridge to take order about it, the necessity of the time requiring it.

^a Perhaps Sir William Boothby of Derbyshire, who married one of the co-heiresses of Sir William Brook.

We have sent out warrants for the whole company to be there tomorrow with their armes, and to take the covenant, and to be enjoined to be ready upon a day's warning; you must not fail to attend the service, all other business set apart. So, not doubting of your care herein, we rest, your assured friends,

Tonbridge, 23 Nov. 1643. JOHN RIVERS. WILL. BOOTHBY.
To our loveing friend, Mr. Thos. THOS. SEYLIARD. THOS. PLUMER.^a
Weller, at Clifford's Inn, in
Fleet Street, London.

XXXIX.

MR. WELLER,—The managing that estate lately belonging to Sir Peter Vanloore^b and Sir Edward Powell being disposed by you, It is expected that you should be responsible for the charges thereupon for the publick, amongst which there are two horses imposed, completely to be furnished, in the trained band of Sir Isaac Sedley; let me entreat you not to fail against the next summons, least a greater inconvenience be done unto the estate. With my kind respects, I rest, your loveing friend,

WM. JAMES.

XL.

Whereas the sum of two hundred thousand pounds is to be paid to our brethren of Scotland for their assistance in this warr, for the speedy raising whereof some course by ordinances of both Houses is already taken for the forcing of those to lend thereunto who shall

^a Probably Thomas Plumer, Esq. of Milkhouse Street, Cranbrook, who was Sheriff of Kent in 1659.

^b Peter Vanlore, son of Sir Peter Vanlore, Knt., was created a Baronet 1628. One of his five sisters married Sir Edward Powell, of Pengethley, in Herefordshire, Bart. Sir Peter, the son, died without male issue, leaving three daughters; which led to much litigation respecting the great estates of his father, who had acquired the castle and manor of Tonbridge by purchase.

not do so willingly, and further course will be therein taken; and whereas we are informed that you are able to lend towards this service the sum of ten pounds; and whereas those who shall willingly lend are first to be paid: we are to desire you to manifest your good affection to the bussiness, as that which shall be most to your advantage, being loath to execute the said ordinance upon any without an absolute necessity. We desire your answer by this bearer, that the said sum of ten pounds may be paid within eight days after your receipt of this present unto Thomas Chambers, at Town Mal-ling, whose acquittance (being subsigned and entered as directed) shall be sufficient for you to receive the said sum, with the use for the forbearance thereof at the rate of eight per centum per annum, according to the true intent of an ordinance of both Houses of the 16th October, 1643, purposely made for the security of such who should lend any monies for this service.

JOHN SEDLEY.
ISAAC SEDLEY.
AUG. SKINNER.
WM. JAMES.

To our very loveing friend Mr. Thomas Weller,
of Tonbridge.

XLI.

The 25th day of June, 1644.—Received, the day and year above written, by us whose names are subscribed, being treasurers for raising of money towards the payment of two hundred thousand pounds agreed to be forthwith advanced for our brethren of Scotland, towards payment of their army raised for our assistance, the sum of ten pounds, of Mr. Thomas Weller, dwelling in the parish of Tonbridge, in the county of Kent, and which is to be repaid to the said Mr. Thomas Weller or his assigns, with interest after the rate of eight pounds per centum per annum; for the speedy repayment whereof the publick faith of both nations is engaged. We say received,

Per me, THOMAS CHAMBERS, Treasurer.

XLII.

Whereas I, John Skeffington, Major to Sir John Sedley, am appointed by the Committee to march out with my trained band, I do hereby constitute Thomas Weller, gentleman, my deputy in the time of this my absence, in my name, and by my power to act, order, appoint, and execute whatsoever may be requisite for the safety of the county, and of this town in particular, in as full and ample manner as if I were in presence, or should do any such act, or should give any such order by my self. In witness whereof, I have set to my hand.

Tonbridge, Aprill 15, 1645.

JOHN SKEFFINGTON.^a

XLIII.

MR. WELLER,—I am now, after this long turbulency of action, desirous to retreat to a more sedentary condition, whereby yet I may the better be enabled to serve my country more effectually in the change of my capacity, and therefore am engaged by some of the best of my friends to appear at the next election for knight of the shire to trye the affections of my country, where I shall entreat your best assistance by your self and friends, not doubting from time to time upon all occasions to give you and them such faithfull accompt of this service as may be expected from, your affectionate ready friend,

St. Cleere, 15 Sept^r. 1645.

SEDLEY.

XLIV.

To the Honourable the COMMITTEE for the COUNTY of KENT.

The humble petition of Thomas Weller,

Humbly sheweth, That your petitioner, being possessed of the castle of Tonbridge, in the county of Kent, and of the liberty of

^a John Skeffington, Esq. of Dachurst, elder brother of Francis Skeffington mentioned p. 29.

fishing and other franchises thereto belonging, by virtue of a lease thereof amongst other things to your petitioner made for the term of diverse years, a great part of which are yet to come and unexpired, the said castle was thought fit and accordingly ordered by this honourable Committee to be employed for the publick safety, to which order your petitioner did with all readiness, as in duty he was bound to do; and accordingly, about the month of October, anno Domini 1643, Major Kempsall, by the directions of this honourable Committee, took possession not only of the said castle, but also of six tuns and three foot of timber, and certain other materials of your petitioner (a note of the particulars whereof your petitioner humbly herewith presenteth), all which he employed about the repairing of the said castle, the which hath ever since been employed for the publick use; yet your said petitioner hath not received any thing since the said time for the rents and profits thereof, being a good part of your petitioner's estate.

May it please this honourable Committee, in regard that the said castle hath been employed for the publick, to give such orders that your petitioner may receive such satisfaction for the rents and profitts of the said castle for such time as the same shall be employed by this honourable Committee, and for such timber and other necessarys of your petitioner employed about the same, as to this honourable Committee shall seem meet.

And your said petitioner shall pray, &c.

A Particular of the Annual Profitts of the Castle of Tonbridge when Major Kempsall entered upon the same for the use of the State in October, anno Domini 1643; and also of such particular goods of mine as were seized upon and employed about the said castle, for which I have not yet received any satisfaction.

	£	s.	d.
Imprimis, I demised the castle ditch and banks without the wall, between the drawbridge and water tower, to William Carter and Richard Gardiner, per annum at	3	6	8
Item, I demised the ground without the wall between the water tower and water gate to Thomas Eldridge, per annum at	0	10	0

	£	s.	d.
Item, I had in my own occupation all the towers, walls, lands within the walls, the stage, pond, and banks on the south, west, and north sides of the said castle, whereon I had many fruit trees growing, and had planted and stored the same with conies, having at the least 50 couple of conies in it, which are destroyed, well worth per annum	6	13	4
Item, they felled down many apple trees and good store of under-wood and young oaks and ashes I had preserved, and converted the wood to their own use, being worth at least	5	0	0
Item, they took of mine six tun three foot of timber, which they employed about the castle, being well worth	6	1	6
N.B.—I sold the other part of the timber to Sir Henry Vane at that very price.			
Item, they had for their necessary use to carry turf a boat which I had in the river, and which but a little before cost me	3	3	4
Item, I had bestowed much money in paling, fencing and hedging, and enclosing of the castle, all which fences and hedges are now utterly destroyed, and cannot be made as sufficient as before when Major Kempsall took it, for the sum of	10	0	0
Item, I demised the barbican, the barn, and castle croft to Alexander Rottenbridge at £6 per annum. The barbican and castle croft are taken away and employed to the castle, by reason whereof I have abated every year the sum of	3	0	0
Sum totall of the annual rents	£13	10	0
Sum totall of the materials	24	4	10

XLV.

A Survey of the Timber and other Provisions in Tonbridge Castle, and lying in diverse places without the castle, taken 2nd June, 1646, and appraised by William and Isaak Ewell.

In the Court Yard.

	£	s.	d.
Tiles, by estimation 1500	1	0	0
Oaken boards 3 quarters of an inch thick, at 6s. 8d. per hundred. The court guard being a shed, with boards			

£ s. d.

nailed on the top and sides, and the windows and a frame of a shed adjoining, intended for a suttlers' room 25 0 0

A shed on the right hand of the gate two stories high, in length 38 foot, half the foreside and half one end boarded, with a platforme on the top of it, and an house of office, and the frame of a breast work about 20 foot long 18 0 0

In the Great Mount.

A platforme, by estimation 34 foot square, of two inch plank laid on great timber, with a crabb, and 6 port windows, valued at 12 0 0

Near the Powder Room.

Eleven joists, about 14 foot long and 8 inches square, and two beach planks, doors with hinges and a bolt, with a boarded door with a lock and key 2 10 0

Over the Sally Port.

A platforme of 2 inch plank 17 foot square, with a breast work of timber four foot high and 36 foot long, with a watch-house 6 foot square 6 13 4

Over the Well.

A frame for a platforme two stories high, about 12 foot square, all with great timber joists, and a little out work on the right hand 5 0 0

Near the Water Tower.

A frame for the platforme by the stairs there, 15 foot square, boarded on one side, with an half pace leading to the tower, and a door into the store roome, and a great door going into the tower 4 10 0

In the Water Tower.

	£	s.	d.
The first floore, ten foot square, laid with inch boards, with 2 window shutts, and a door with a lock and key	2	0	0
The second roome over that, of the same breadth	2	0	0
The third roome, 14 foot square	2	10	0
The fourth, of the same breadth	2	10	0
The platform of 2 inch plank, 18 foot square, with a small crane to crane up guns, covered with boards	5	0	0

The lower part of the Gate.

About six foot high with the iron work, with a great bolt of iron, and a staple on the cross barr	1	0	0
---	---	---	---

On the right hand of the Gate.

The first floore, about 16 feet square, with several doors and partitions there	4	0	0
The second floor, with 14 oaken joists about 9 inches square, with a floore laid with deal boards, about 17 foot square, a little closset and a settle bed of deal, with doors, bolts and hinges, a lock and key	5	0	0
The next floore on the same level, 11 foot square, laid with oaken boards, with a partition 6 foot high, and a frame for a cupboard, and a doore	2	0	0
The third roome of the same levell, 19 foot square, laid with inch oaken boards, 2 doors and shuts for the windows, and a dresser 4 foot long	5	0	0
The great room over them, 46 foot long and 24 foot broad, laid with deal, with three doors and an high tressell	8	0	0
The platforme in the gate house tower, with 2 inch plank on great timber, 48 foot long and 24 foot broad, with a shed of boards for the gunners, and a gin to heave up timber, and two little platformes in the turrets	8	0	0

£ s. d.

A double rail . . . inch square, 53 foot long, on the wall, and a little gallery, 24 foot long and four foot wide, with a rail on the one side, and a watch-house at the end, 6 foot square 3 0 0

The lower roome on the left hand the gate, eighteen foot square 3 10 0

In the same Roome.

Laths 5 foot long, 3 load 27 hundred; laths 4 foot long, one load and 10 hundred; sap and hart laths, unbound, by estimation 15 hundred, at 20s. per load . . . 5 14 0

In the Castle Yard.

Beech and oaken planks, waste of several scantlings, and beech and oaken timber of several sorts and lengths, about 8 load, at 15s. per load 6 0 0

A port door under the gallery with iron work, and a wooden horse 0 6 8

A drawbridge 34 foot long and 9 foot wide, valued at 12 0 0

Oaken and beechen timber unmeasured, 24 pieces, containing by estimation six load, at 15s. per load . . . 4 10 0

Ten standing posts for a hovell 0 10 0

At the further Bridge.

A gate with double planks and a wicket 14 foot wide and six foot high, with iron plates with a small to them 3 0 0

A great iron chain 24 foot long, at 14 the hundred . . . 0 8 0

Two pieces of timber on the bridge next the town . . . 0 8 0

Three turnpikes of timber with iron, &c. 2 0 0

£162 12 0

A SHORT ESTIMATE OF ABSTRACT.

In the Castle Yard.

3 carriages for guns.

*In the Roome on the right hand going into the Court of Guard,
which is uncovered.*

Oaken boards about 200 foote.

In and upon the other outer Buildings.

Oaken boards nailed on, about 703 foote.

In the roome under the Gate House on the left hand.

Laths 5 foote long, 3 load 27 hundred.

Laths 4 foote long, 1 load 10 hundred.

Sape and heart laths, unbound, by estimation about 25 hundred.

One old bisket chest.

In the Yard without the Castle.

Oaken timber, 20 pieces, unmeasured.

Beech 7 pieces.

Posts standing in the ground 10.

In the River.

Boats, two under the water.

XLVI.

At the Committee at Maidstone, 4th June, 1646.—It is this day ordered that the several provisions of timber, platformes, planks, &c. erected for a fortification in the Castle at Tunbridge, be sold unto Mr. Thomas Weller, of Tunbridge, for one hundred and forty pounds, to be forthwith paid unto this Committee for the use of the

country. And that he do presently take them down, thereby to slight and dismantle the fortifications.

JOHN RIVERS.

ANTH. WELDEN.

RICHD. GODFREY.

† JA. OXENDEN.

THO. SEYLIARD.

WM. JAMES.

* LAMBARD GODFREY.

HUMPHREY LEON.

14 July, 1646.

Received then of Mr. Thomas Weller, for timber bought by him in Tunbridge Castle, the sum of one hundred and forty pounds, which I have received on the behalf of the Committee for the county of Kent,

‡ D. POLHILL.

XLVII.

MR. WELLER,—Captain Woodgate tells me that there is a reference betwixt Mr. Courthorp and him to you and Mr. Lads, concerning hay he was forced to make use of for the service of the Parliament. His desire is you will truly examine the business, so as he may pay for no more than was taken by him and spent, which is likewise the opinion of the Committee, as well as of your assured friend,

ISAAC SEDLEY.

Maidstone, 22 Octr. 1646.

* Lambard Godfrey, eldest son of Thomas Godfrey of Hodiford, in Sellinge, Esq. by Margaret Lambard his first wife. The famous Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, murdered 1678, was one of the numerous sons by his second wife. See the domestic chronicle of Thomas Godfrey, esq. printed in *The Topographer and Genealogist*, vol. ii. 1853.

† Sir James Oxenden, Knt., of Dene in Wingham, died 1657; father of the first Baronet of that family.

‡ This appears to be David Polhill, Esq. of Otford, who was High Sheriff of Kent 16 Charles I. and died 1658.

XLVIII.

The further Account of Thomas Weller, one of the Treasurers for the First Voluntary Contribution Money within the lath of Aylesford.

	£	s.	d.
The said accomptant gave up his accompt to the honourable Committee at Rochester, 21st March, anno 1642; there remained in my hands in money and plate	66	0	11
Whereof in plate 106 ounces and one quarter, which, after the rate of			
5s. 4d. per ounce, cometh to	£28	6	8
And in money	37	14	3

Since which time I have disbursed as follows:—

Imprimis, by letter from the honourable Committee, dated at Rochester, 2nd August, 1643, this accomptant did carry to Rochester for the Committee's use £315; it being a time of great danger was fain to have three men to guard it for two days; the charge for myself and them came to 1 0 0

Item, paid to several messengers at several times, for bringing of several letters and warrants from Mr. James and others of the Committee, and sending them to Sir John Rivers and Mr. Porter, and sometimes to the constables; paid in all 0 8 0

Item, since the account given up 21 March, 1642, this accomptant received of Sir John Rivers in plate a deep bason, a sugar box and spoon, an ewer, a great bason, all weighed 143 ounces and half; all which the said accomptant, by vertue of a warrant from the Committee, dated 6 Aprill, 1643, delivered to Sir Michael

Livesey, and hath an acquittance from Sir Michael for £ s. d.
the same, dated 13th Aprill, 1643.

I humbly desire the honourable Comittee will be
pleased to consider of these particulars.

Imprimis, in the first rebellion in this county the
rebells plundered my house three times, because I op-
posed them and stood for the Parliament. They robbed
me of goods to the value of about £60, and took away
between seven and ten pounds in money that I had then
lately received for the Parliament's use of the weekly
assessments. I had much more money of the Parlia-
ment's then in my hands, which I saved with great diffi-
culty and danger of my life; but lost, as I will be deposed
if thereto required, above

7 0 0

Item, the first voluntary contribution came to £285,
and it was very chargeable and troublesome to collect.
I humbly crave allowance for the collecting and dis-
bursing thereof. Others in like case have been allowed
3*d.* per £, which, if it will please the honourable Co-
mittee to allow, comes to

3 10 0

Item, upon my petition to the honourable Comittee
concerning the castle of Tonbridge, the rents whereof
appeared by estimation to be £10 10*s.* per annum, be-
sides the barbican and castle croft, which was £3 per
annum, for all which I have not made 5*s.* of the profit
thereof from October, 1643, so I have lost three years'
rent, which cometh to £39; and the ground being all
digged up within and without the castle, and all the
fruit trees cut up, I cannot make so much of it now as
I did before by £5 per annum, as by oath may be
proved; but the rent already lost was offered to be
proved by oath of witnesses before Captain Bowles, is
per annum £13

39 0 0

£ s. d.

Item, Captain Bowles conceived it not fitting I should be allowed for my boat unrepaired. She was left sunk in the river. I have since drawn her up, which cost 18*d.* and when she was cleared I then and yet would sell her for £3, if I could, being more than I think her worth. She was new when she was taken from me, and cost 3 3 6

A Particular of all such Plate as I have received, and of whom I received the same.

oz.

Imprimis, of Robert Day, one double silver salt guilt, ten silver spoons with knobs, and one great silver bowle, weighing in all 36 ounces wanting half a quarter 35 $\frac{7}{8}$

Item, of John Silcock, one great silver bowle weighing 12 ounces one quarter and half quarter 12 $\frac{5}{8}$

Item, of Thomas Day, one bowl, one salt, and 3 spoons, weighing 21 ounces 21

Item, of John Austen of Horsmonden, one great silver salt and one silver tun, weighing in all 37 ounces . . . 37

 106 $\frac{1}{4}$

£ s. d.

5th March.—Received, the day above said, of Mr. Thomas Weller, of Tonbridge, the sum of thirty-six pounds six shillings and three pence 36 6 3

As also one double silver salt guilt, ten silver spoons with knobs, and one great silver bowle, which were Robert Day's.

Item, one great silver bowle, which was John Silcock's; one bowle, one salt, and three spoons, which were Thomas Day's; and one great silver salt and one silver tun, which was John

Austen's: all which plate, weighing 106 ounces, formerly deposited with the Committee at Maidstone, and by them ordered to be delivered to the Committee for Accompts; I say received, by me,

E. HAYWARD, Accountant to the Committee of Accompts
sitting at Rochester.

XLIX.

Primo die Decembris 1646.—At the Committee for taking the accompts for the county of Kent sitting at the sign of the Crown in Rochester.

By virtue of several ordinances of Parliament for taking of accompts. These are to require to bring in to the Committee, upon the 28th day of December instant, a just, orderly, and particular accompt, in a book fairly written and subscribed with your name, of all and every the moneys, goods, or other things by you, or any other to your use, or by your appointment received or issued out, levied, or taken by virtue of any act of this present Parliament, ordinance, or order of both or one of the Houses of Parliament, or by colour thereof, or upon any pretence whatsoever, for the use and service of the Common Wealth, and the same accompt to deliver upon oath according to the said ordinance.

To Mr. Thomas Weller, of the parish
of Tonbridge.

JOHN ROBINSON.

JOHN PORTER.

WILL. BREWER.

GEO. ROBINSON.

JOHN HASTENS.

- L.

The accompt of Thomas Weller, of Tonbridge, in the county of Kent, gentleman, of and concerning all and singular the monies, goods, and things by him received and issued out concerning the Parliament, made and delivered up 28th December, Anno Domini 1646.

£ s. d.

Imprimis, the said accomptant, by virtue of a warrant to him directed by Sir John Rivers and Mr. John Porter, dated 4th Nov^r. 1642, was intrusted to be treasurer for the first voluntary money subscribed for, and had certain notes delivered to him, with the parties names which did subscribe, and for how much monies they so subscribed, for all which and plate amounted to the sum of 281 2 0

Item, the said accomptant received certain other moneys not subscribed for, but voluntarily given by severall persons, all which amounted to 4 12 6

Sum totall charged . 285 14 6

For all which moneys the said accomptant made and delivered up his account to the deputy-leivtenants for the county of Kent, 22nd day of March, 1642, who received from the said accomptant the said account, together with the notes by which the accomptant collected the said moneys. And the said accomptant, divers sums of money, by virtue of severall warrants and directions from the said deputy-leivtenants, and certain money and plate so subscribed for by certaine persons in the said notes named being never paid to the said accomptant, was thereof discharged, which did amount in toto unto £24 15s., the said accomptant upon his said account

delivered up as aforesaid, had remaining in his hands £ s. d.
 in money and plate, the sum of 66 0 11

Out of which moneys the said accomptant £ s. d.
 afterwards paid to several persons and to
 several uses, by directions of some of the
 Committee, certain moneys amounting in
 all to the sum of 1 8 0

And since hath given up his accompt for
 all the remainder thereof to the Committee
 at Maidstone, and delivered in all the said
 money and plate, viz. in money . . 36 6 3

In plate 106 ounces $\frac{1}{4}$ at 5s. 4d. per
 ounce, which is 28 6 8

 66 0 11

So remaineth in this accomptant's hands nihil.

Item, the said accomptant also received from Sir John
 Rivers in plate, viz.—a deep bason, a sugar box, and
 spoone and ewer, and a great bason, all which the said
 accomptant, by warrant from the Committee dated 6
 April, 1643, delivered to Sir Michael Livesey as by the
 said warrant, and an acquittance under the hand of Sir
 Michael Livesey, appeareth, so remaineth thereof from
 the accomptant nihil

Item, the said accomptant was high collector for the
 first part of £40[0],000 granted in this present Parlia-
 ment, and was charged, and by recognizance of the said
 account entered into to put into the chamber of London
 the sum of £796 17s. 6d., all which the said accomptant
 hath accordingly paid, and hath his recognizance deli-
 vered up and cancelled, and his quietus est for the same
 out of the Exchequer, according to the statute in that
 case made, and so the accomptant for this oweth nihil . nihil

£ s. d.

Item, the said accomptant was requested by Sir John Sedley and Mr. James to receive certain sums of money of and from several persons being collectors for the weekly contribution, and the said accomptant had only a note delivered to him of the names of the said collectors, and what sums of money every such collector was weekly to pay, and accordingly the said accomptant did receive diverse several sums of money, but the said accomptant had never any other warrant or book for the receiving thereof, the particular sums, and from whom the said accomptant received the same are as followeth, and the totall sum by him received amounted to . 394 8 0

Imprimis, received of Andrew Fowns and John Curd, collectors for Southborough . 47 17 0

Item, of John Walklin, Robt. Swan, and Wm. Pawley, collectors for Hadlow . 38 7 0

Item, of Thomas Atkinson, gentleman, and Willm. Medhurst, collectors for Hildenborough . 46 0 10

Item, of Francis Skevington and Tristram Thomas, collectors for Tonbridge . 26 0 0

Item, of Math. Harding and John Springate, collectors for West Barnfield . 40 6 0

Item, of Thomas Ellis, collector for Teudley 21 13 4

Item, of Richard Rabson, collector for Sunningleigh Borough . 21 13 4

Item, of Mr. Brocket, collector for Horsmonden . 49 0 0

Item, of John Hodgkins, John Pope, and James Hartridge, collectors for Brenchley 103 10 6

394 8 0

394 8 0

£ s. d.

Item, the said accomptant was promised to be allowed
 3*d.* per pound for collecting and receiving the said
 money, and hath accordingly paid and allowed the col-
 lectors for the same, and so craveth the said allow-
 ance, viz. 4 18 6

Item, the said accomptant, by warrant from the Com-
 mittee dated 2nd August, 1643, paid to Sir Willm.
 Mann of this money the sum of 315 0 0

So remaineth still, in this accomptant's hands, the
 sum of 74 9 6

 394 8 0

Quarto die Februarii 1646.—Received the day and
 year above written of Mr. Thomas Weller, of Ton-
 bridge, in Kent, by the appointment of the Committee
 for accompts sitting at Rochester, the sum of seventy-
 four pounds nine shillings and sixpence-halfpenny of
 lawful money of England, being the arrears of the
 weekly tax, which said sum ballances his accompt
 lately by him delivered to the said Committee. I say
 received 74 9 6

EDWD. HAYWARD, Accomptant to the said Committee.

APPENDIX.

THE manor and castle of Tunbridge became, on the death of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hereford, at the battle of Bannockburn, on the partition of his estates, part of the inheritance of his sister Margaret, wife of Hugh de Audley, who was created Earl of Gloucester; and their only daughter carried to the family of Stafford this and other great possessions. On the attainder of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, 15 Henry VIII. the castle and manor of Tunbridge vested in the Crown. By grants from the Crown and purchase they afterwards passed rapidly through several hands. The following statements may be interesting:—

The Yearly Value of the Fees and Annuities granted by several Pattents by the late Duke of Buckingham, attainted of high treason, the officers and persons enjoying them, of his mannors within the county of Kent, that is to say, Tonbridge and Penshurst.

	£	s.	d.
Warrant within the said county of Kent, as appeareth by patent by the said Duke, with the yearly fee of five pound by the year	5	0	0
Item, for the exercising the office of high constablenesship of the castle of Tonbridge, as it appeareth by several pattents granted by the said Duke, with the yearly fee of £6 13s. 4d.	6	13	4
Item, the exercising the office of portership of the said castell of Tonbridge, as it appeareth by several patents granted by the said Duke, at the yearly value of three pounds . . .	3	0	0
Item, for keeping the park of the postern and the cage at 3d. by the day, as it appeareth by several patents granted by the said Duke	3	9	3
Item, for the fee of the bailley wyck, used to be occupied by a yeoman, as it appeareth by several patents granted by the said Duke, with the fee of	2	0	0

£ s. d.

Item, for the fee of chamberlainship, used to be occupied by a yeoman, as it appeareth by several patents granted by the said Duke, with the yearly fee for the same xls. . . . 2 0 0

Sum total of the fees granted by the said Duke in his life by several patents as is aforesaid, within the said parish of Tonbridge, in the county of Kent 22 2 7

Item, to Will. Woodgate, keeper of the park at Penshurst and Ashoar, and keeper of the mannor; that is to say, for the keeping of the park by the day 4d., and for the mannor by the day 1d., used to be kept with iij. yeomen: sum by the year 7 12 1

Item, for the keeping the north lands in the parishes of Penshurst and Lee, with the fee of 11d. a day: sum xxxs. v d. 1 10 5

Item, the fee of the bailiwick and stewardship of Penshurst, with the yearly fee of 1 6 8

Sum totall of all the fees in Penshurst 10 9 2

Sum totall of all the fees granted by the said Duke in his life by several patents, as is aforesaid, within the said parish of Tonbridge as within the said parish of Penshurst and Lee, amountable in all to the sum of . . . 32 11 9

The very Value of all the Lands and Rents and other Proffits belonging to the mannor of Tonbridge, as it appeareth in the accompt taken anno xij^o. H. 8.

£ s. d.

Imprimis, of John Pelle, bailly of the said lordship, with 14s. of the perquisites of the court of the said year, his fee paid of the same, clearly remained of the rents of assize . . . 8 7 7

Item, John Fisher, chamberlayne, of the proffits of the chamberlainship, with 4d. for herbage and pannage of the postern and the cage for that year; the fee of the same John Fisher for the office extendeth to 4 5 0

	£	s.	d.
Item, of the said John Fisher, lardiner, for the profitts of the same office, his fee paid for the same	0	12	6
Item, of the said John Fisher, of the meadows for that year, £3 4s. 4d. allowed unto him for certain reparations done by him upon certain wares, and 50s. allowed to him for keys by him bought and delivered to the keepers of the postern and cage parks for the preservation of the deer, and 40s. allowed unto him for his fee in the said office for that year, doth remain clearly this year £9 2s. 4d.; and in another year the said allowance not allowed afore expressed, remains clearly of the said office yearly the sum of	17	16	8
Item, of John Love, for the farme of the water mill, by the year	10	0	0
Item, of the castle fields of Tonbridge, in the tenure of John Fisher, for the yearly rent of	2	6	8
Item, the farm of Datchhurst, now of Henry Owens by lease, and given to Master Skevington, knight, master of the ordinance, parcell of the mannor of Tonbridge, of the yearly rent of	19	0	0
Item, of William Thomas, bedill of Southborough, now given to Sir Thomas Moore, knight, parcell of the lordship of Tonbridge, of the yearly value of, besides casualties	18	4	0
Item, of Thomas Larke, bedill of Hildenborough, now given to Master Cornish, of the King's Chappell, of the yearly value, besides casualties	18	4	0
Item, the green waxe wages and strays belonging to the said mannor of Tonbridge, by estimation yearly	0	13	4
Sum totall of the yearly farmes, rents, and other profitts belonging or appertaining to the lordship of Tonbridge	319	8	9 $\frac{3}{4}$

II.

The following letter, in the Collection of the Editor, although not ranging in point of time with the other letters printed in this volume, is so nearly connected with the county of Kent, and the period of the Civil War, that we think its printing in this place will not be deemed improper. It is addressed to the celebrated Sir Roger Twisden, author of the Treatise on the Government of England (published by the Camden Society, ed. J. M. Kemble, 1849), and in his time one of the chief ornaments of the county of Kent. The writer was Jane the wife of Thomas Twisden, Esq. who after the Restoration was appointed one of the puisne judges of the King's Bench. Mr. Justice Twisden was a brother of Sir Roger. The "Lord of Clevesland," mentioned in the letter, was Thomas Lord Wentworth of Nettlested, created Earl of Cleveland 5th Feb. 1625-6 (Dugd. Bar. II. 310); the "Lord of Oxford" was Aubrey de Vere, the 20th Earl and the last of the De Veres. Both these noblemen suffered imprisonment at various times in the cause of the monarchy, and there is some difficulty in determining the precise occasion referred to in the following letter. Probably it has relation to Gerard's plot against the Protector in 1654. See Thurloe, i. 395, 446. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 591.

Sr,

I heare the besnes of taken horses is now over, and most of them that hade them taken a way have them agane. They have sarched in logens much. They say ther is a susspichon that the Duke of Yorke is in toune, and that is the case of all this. They have sint for divers out of the contrey and put them in the Touer. My Lord of Clevesland and my Lord of Oxford are sent thether; the last thay say had setled himsilfe in the contrey, and hardly bene in London this 3 years, and the other did not live in London; nether thay did not medell with our horses att all, nor I hop thay will not with yours, so that the coch may goe one agane without any disturbance. When I see my cosen Bureston I will pay hir that money, if I can remember it, or she axe me for it, for truely I see hir since and for got it, which I am verey sorey for. I pray you, Sir, when you see my cosen Whetnall too presint my sirves too him and his wife, and tell him I will take care that Mr. Hoskens shall have his latter verey safe, but he is not now in toune, but on Monday I can sind it too him. This, with all our servess too you and all my nephewes and neces, is all from hence. I can add to this, Sr, that am

Your most humbill Sarvant,

JANE TWISDEN.

March 27th [1654].

(addressed)

Thes

For Sr Roger

Twisden, att his

hous att Packham,

in Kent.

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ANCIENT
BIOGRAPHICAL POEMS,

ON

THE DUKE OF NORFOLK,
VISCOUNT HEREFORD, THE EARLS OF ESSEX,
AND QUEEN ELIZABETH.

FROM GOUGH'S NORFOLK MSS. IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY.

EDITED BY
J. PAYNE COLLIER, ESQ.

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M.DCCC.LV.

INTRODUCTION.

THE execution of the Duke of Norfolk, on the 2nd June, 1572, excited an extraordinary sensation throughout England. Camden was present both at his trial and decapitation, and says of him, "It is incredible how dearly the people loved him, whose good will he had gained by a munificence and extraordinary affability suitable to so great a prince. The wiser sort of men were variously affected: some were terrified at the greatness of the danger which, during his life, seemed to threaten the State from him and his faction; others were moved with pity towards him, as one very nobly descended, of an extraordinary good nature, comely personage, and manly presence; who might have been both a support and ornament to his country, had not the crafty wiles of the envious, and his own false hopes, led on with a show of doing the public service, diverted him from his first course of life. They called likewise to mind his father's untimely end, who, though a man of extraordinary learning, and famous in war, was yet beheaded in the same place five and twenty years before, and that upon very slight grounds: viz. for quartering the arms of Edward the Confessor with his own; which yet we read that the Mowbrays, Dukes of Norfolk, from whom he descended, had borne by permission of King Richard II."—(Life of Eliz. A.D. 1572.)

All the facts connected with this catastrophe, and with another, of a similar character, which happened about thirty years afterwards, are well known as matters of history, so that it will not be necessary for us even to touch upon them; but it is fit to say something by way of introduction to the following Poems, recommended to our notice rather by their public than by their literary importance.

It is known that ballads, and probably other productions in verse, were published soon after the death of the Duke of Norfolk; but either they have been destroyed by the lapse of time, or they were suppressed by authority of the State, and no such printed specimens have descended to our day.

The two pieces which stand first in the ensuing pages are, like the rest, derived from a manuscript in the Bodleian Library (Gough's Norfolk Papers, No. 43), which has hitherto attracted no attention, having eluded the researches of Ritson, and of all other poetical antiquaries. If they were ever printed, which is doubtful, it must have happened very shortly after the event to which they relate. It is not stated in the manuscript (which seems to have been compiled by a Suffolk gentleman of the name of Thomas Brampton) that they were copied from any originals, whether in type or otherwise; and they are so mixed up with poems and scraps upon other topics, and of an entirely different character, that it is impossible to say positively, whether they may not have been the authorship of the individual in whose handwriting they have come down to us. Our main reason for thinking that they were not of his composition is, that they appear to be so full of corruptions, that we cannot suppose the writer himself guilty of them. These mistakes we have not attempted to set right: some few errors may be said to correct themselves, but the

rest may be thought to defy conjecture and ingenuity, and we have preferred to present them to our readers in the precise form they bear in the only (as far as we are yet informed) existing authority. To one of the miscellaneous poems in the volume we find the name of the writer appended, with the date of 1594, and, as he was then certainly not a young man, we may conclude that he was living at the date of the Duke of Norfolk's death. The poem which bears his signature is a moral and didactic production, such as a person considerably advanced in life would write; and, as it is short, we subjoin it by way of illustration, for the purpose of directing more particularly the attention of our readers to the name, and of inducing them to supply hereafter any biographical particulars within their knowledge.

A p'fect patterne of true felicitie framed to fynde the waye to eternitie.

What wisdome more, what better liffe than pleaseth god to sende,
 What worldly goodes, what longer use than pleaseth god to lende,
 What better fare than well content, what mirth to quiet wellth,
 What better guest than trustie frinde in sicknes or in hellth,
 What better bedd than quiet rest to pas the night wth slepe,
 What better worke then dayly care thyself fro' sinne to kepe,
 What better thought then thinke of god, and dayly him to serve,
 What better gifte than to the pore that readie be to s[t]erve,
 What better praise to god or man then hatred to forsake,
 What merciles shall m'cie gett yt m'cie none will take,
 What worse dispayre than loth to die for feare to goe to hell,
 What greater faith then trust in god by Christ in Heaven to dwell ?

P' me, THOMAS BRAMPTON, 1594.

If the registers of the Company of Stationers were complete, we feel confident that we should have there found some entries relating to ballads and other productions, published or intended to

be published, in order that the authors and booksellers might take advantage of the temporary interest excited by the execution of so popular a nobleman as the Duke of Norfolk. Most unluckily the volume, belonging to the period between July 1571 and July 1576, has been for many years missing, (possibly from the time of the fire of London,) so that no information can be obtained from this source. How long a tune, to which one of the ballads was sung, was applied to the same purpose may be judged from the fact, that in vol. iii. p. 70, of "Poems on Affairs of State, from 1640 to this present year 1704," is "A new ballad to an old tune, called *I am the Duke of Norfolk*, &c." We may be pretty sure, therefore, that this effusion began with the words "I am the Duke of Norfolk," and if it exist, either in print or in manuscript, in any public or private depository, it may thus be recognised. The measure of the ballad was, perhaps, the same as the performance written to the same tune and printed in "Poems on Affairs of State," where the first stanza runs thus:—

"I am a senseless thing, with a hey, with a hey :
Men call me King, with a ho ;
To my luxury and ease,
They brought me o'er the seas,
With a hey, tronny, nonny, nonny, no !"

The above was, of course, composed in ridicule of Charles II., in whose reign the old ballad on the death of the Duke of Norfolk was probably, in some form, still extant; but it is not easy to imagine in what way a tune with such a burden could have been rendered lamentable instead of ludicrous.

In Murdin's "State Papers," Sir Henry Ellis's "Letters," Bayley's "History of the Tower," Smith's "Historical and Literary

Curiosities," and in some other works, may be seen prose compositions by the Duke of Norfolk, chiefly consisting of appeals to the Queen, of epistles to his children, and of notes to his friends, all written while he was a prisoner in the Tower, almost in daily expectation of the execution of the sentence, passed upon him on the 16th Jan., and not put in force, as we have already stated, until 2nd June, 1572. The writer of the present notice has a MS. (once belonging to Sir Christopher Hatton, and with his autograph upon the covers), containing four addresses by the Duke of Norfolk, then under sentence of death, to different parties: three of these have been printed, with more or less imperfectness, but the fourth, a very long and highly interesting letter to his son, the Earl of Arundel (who was afterwards for many years a prisoner in the same fortress where his father and grandfather had been confined), has never been printed: in it the Duke warns his son Philip not to pursue the very course which finally led to his ruin.*

Only the two earliest of the ensuing pieces relate to the Duke of Norfolk: the one is composed in the person of the noble sufferer, and professes, if not to justify, to excuse, his crime, especially as regards any design upon the Queen of Scots. It was evidently written by a friend—we cannot impute it to the Duke himself—but it is followed by an "Answer," composed by some enemy, in the form of a parody, and intended, as far as possible, to inculcate the personage,

* Thomas Brampton, the compiler of the MS. in Gough's collection, may have been some retainer in the family of the Duke of Norfolk, and this fact would account for the number of papers referring to him copied into it. We there find the Duke's arraignment at full, with some of his speeches on his trial, together with all the articles alleged against him, and his answers to them. It also contains a transcript of his supplication to the Queen; but one of the most interesting documents inserted is a list of all the prisoners in the Tower at the period when Mary ascended the throne, with the precise sums they

who by many was considered the victim of the intrigues of the Bishop of Ross. We give both exactly as they appear in the MS., excepting that, consistently with the more usual practice, we have made all the lines begin with capitals.

paid weekly to Sir Edward Warner, then Constable, for their board, servants, coals, wood, and candles.

The Duke of Norfolk (father of the Earl of Surrey, who was father of the Duke, beheaded in 1572) paid 5*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.* per week for himself and one servant.

The Duchess of Somerset (widow of the Protector of Edward VI.) was allowed three gentlewomen, and as many male servants, and paid 8*l.* per week.

The Duke of Suffolk (Henry Grey, father of Lady Jane) had two servants to attend him, and paid 6*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per week.

The Duke of Northumberland (John Dudley) was allowed three servants, and paid 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* per week.

The Marquess of Northampton (William Parr, brother of Queen Katherine), with two servants, paid 5*l.* 10*s.* per week.

	£	s.	d.	
The Bishop of Winchester paid	1	0	0	per week.
Mr. Courtenay	1	17	8	„ „
The Earl of Huntingdon	4	10	0	„ „
The Earl of Warwick	4	10	0	„ „
The Lord Ambrose	3	16	8	„ „
Lord Robert Dudley	3	16	8	„ „
Lord Guildford	3	16	8	„ „
Lord Henry	3	16	8	„ „
Sir Andrew Dudley	3	16	8	„ „
Justice Mountague	2	13	4	„ „
Justice Chamley	3	16	8	„ „
Sir John Gates	3	16	8	„ „
Sir John Cheke	2	3	4	„ „
Sir Henry Gate	2	3	4	„ „
Sir Thomas Palmer	2	1	8	„ „
Sir Richard Corbet	1	15	0	„ „
Rowland Dye	1	1	8	„ „
Edwin Sandes	0	16	8	„ „
James Ingram	0	13	4	„ „
Six poor prisoners at 7 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> each	2	5	0	„ „

The name of Lady Jane Grey is also included in the list, but she stands separately, and was allowed two gentlewomen and two men servants to attend her, for which, with coals, wood, and candle, she paid 6*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per week—the same sum as her father.

To these productions we have appended four other pieces in verse, of a personal character, all derived from the same manuscript, and relating to different distinguished individuals. Like the others, they have, with one exception, little poetical merit, but deserve preservation and publicity on biographical considerations. The earliest of these belongs to the year 1558, and is a species of funeral eulogy on Walter Devereux, Baron Ferrers of Chartley, who had been created Viscount Hereford on 2nd February, 1550: he was grandfather to the Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, who died in Ireland in 1576, and great-grandfather to Queen Elizabeth's favourite, executed in 1600-1, of both of whom we shall have occasion to speak again presently. This production, headed "An Epitaph of the Death of the Viscount Hereford," highly extols his public services, which were so considerable, especially as a naval commander, that he was made Knight of the Garter in 1523. We are not aware of the existence of any other mention of him in verse, and the performance here inserted has never before been alluded to.

Walter Devereux, his grandson (son of Sir Richard Devereux, who died during the life of his father), having succeeded to the title of Viscount Hereford in 1558, was created Earl of Essex in 1572: he was also Knight of the Garter, and being employed unsuccessfully in Ireland, he died in Dublin in 1576. "A godly and virtuous Song," extant in Sloane MS. 1898, is imputed to him; and the poem entitled "The Song of the right noble Earl of Essex," which follows the "epitaph" on his grandfather, is in the first person, and has been treated as his authorship. On the other hand, it is found in the various editions of the "Paradise of Dainty Devices," where the initials of F. K. (Francis Kynwelmersh) are appended to it, and

the probability certainly is that that poet wrote it.* There is a copy of it in MS. in the library of the Earl of Ellesmere, which agrees pretty nearly with the "Paradise of Dainty Devices," excepting that the initials of the real, or supposed, author are omitted. We now publish it as it stands in the Gough MS. at Oxford, and it will be remarked on comparison that it differs, although not very materially, from any other known transcript.†

The poem called "The Robin," from the same source, refers covertly to Robert Earl of Essex, who came to the title, on the

* It bears the title merely of "The Complaint of a Synner" in the first impression of 1576, and subsequently in the various reprints of that early miscellany; so that it is not there at all connected with the death of Walter Earl of Essex.

† In Vol. II. of the "Extracts from the Registers of the Stationers' Company," printed by the Shakespeare Society, will be seen (p. 35) a much superior production on the demise of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, in 1576. It consists of nine stanzas, and is an extremely creditable poem for the time when it was written, and, we may suppose, published, although no printed copy of it is now known. In the entry of it in the book of the Stationers' Company Walter Earl of Essex is styled, by miswriting or ignorance on the part of the clerk, "Viscount *hereof*," instead of Viscount Hereford. The first stanza, which we quote by way of specimen, runs thus:—

" Lament, lament, for he is dead,
Who served his prince most faithfully;
Lament each subject, and the head
Of this our realm of Brittainy.
Our Queen has lost a soldier true,
Her subjects lost a noble friend;
Oft for his queen his sword he drew,
And for her subjects blood did spend."

We may add here, in order to account for the appearance in Brampton's MS. of the poems on the three different members of the Devereux family, that he was in some way connected with the grandmother of Robert Earl of Essex. This connection is apparent from the copy of a bond (which Brampton inserts), by which he engaged for the payment of 250*l.* for her. Thomas Brampton describes himself of Kenton, but his father, William Brampton, was of Letton, and was lord of the manor of Attilborough. Thomas Brampton had, as he states, four children: viz. Thomas, born in 1590; Anne in 1594; Elizabeth in 1596; and Mary in 1603.

death of his father Walter, in 1576. He was executed on 25th Feb. 1600-1; but the production under consideration must have been penned by one of his friends or adherents, while he was in possession of the warmest regards of the Queen. She was in the habit of familiarly calling him her "Robin,"* and upon that point, and in praise of the habits and qualities of the bird, the production is founded: it must have possessed in its perfect state (as we may judge from the obviously mutilated copy before us) no little spirit and elegance. The playful manner in which it touches upon the private favours bestowed upon the Earl, his familiarity at Court, his hopping, like a Robin, about the royal bed, while rivals were excluded, and other particulars, render this production far more than usually attractive. As we have never seen any other transcript of it, we have no means of correcting its errors, and it is much easier to detect the mistakes of the scribe, than to amend them.

Corruptions are still more abundant, and in some respects of a graver kind, in the lively verses on Queen Elizabeth and her manifold perfections and accomplishments, which conclude our quotations from the Gough manuscript. There are few of the proper names which are not blunderingly spelled, and most of them must have been written, not only by ear, but by a very ignorant ear. In this respect it would not have been difficult to have set matters right; but, inasmuch as the task would have been easy, it would be needless, and we have preferred to print these verses precisely as they stand in the only copy of them with which we are ac-

* Elizabeth had previously bestowed the nickname of Robin upon Robert Earl of Leicester, whom she also designated, especially in her letters, as "Eyes," in consequence of the known beauty of that feature in her favourite.

quainted. It is clear that they were written while the Queen was on the throne, and no doubt by some courtier, or poet (perhaps both courtier and poet), who was anxious to ingratiate himself by the flattering attributes he heaped upon her Majesty.

To the continued kindness of Dr. Bandinel the Editor owes the opportunity of collating the poems ; and it is due to Mr. J. Markham Thorpe to add that we are indebted to him for first directing our attention to them, and for making the transcripts of which we have availed ourselves.

J. P. C.

ANCIENT
BIOGRAPHICAL POEMS.

VERSES SET FORTHE IN THE FAVER OF THE DUKE OF NORFOLK HIS
CAUSES.

If former good coulde answer presente yll,
And often well might mende but onse amysse,
My lief, forepaste in truthe and dutie still,
Might salve this faulte for w^{ch} my troble is.

O happie theye that quyte their princes soo!
But thus wth me, O wretched man! it frames;
For often well I unrewarded goo,
And for oon evell receyve ten thousand blames.

Is this my happe, or justice due for synne?
If bothe, to fault and to my fate yelde I:
Myne owne good dedes and juste desertes therin
I leave, and to my God and quene I flie;
And mercye crave for all [my] synnes unsene,
Prostrate wth teares bifore my God and quene:

A heape of synnes I must confesse to God,
 Gaynste whom bycawse I have don most amysse,
 I will receive his juste deservedd rodde;
 But to my quene my only faulte is this:—

I did advise a quene unfortunate,
 To yelde her will unto my prynces here;
 Whom axt, I thoughte to pitie her estate,
 A frynde by kynde, a quene, a neighbo^r nere.

But I sought not, agaynst my mistres will,
 To steale by slayte ought of her highnes hands
 This captive quene; for gylteles of that yll,
 Or any soche, I byde theise bitter bandes:
 I oonly did pittie her myserye,
 Enforc'd therto by wretched sympathye.

Well shewes the tyme in this [my] passion spent,
 The will I had to ease her carefull mynde;
 For I conveyed some letters which she sente,
 To helpe her woo, to hurte myselfe I fynde.

Loo! here ye truthe, lett foes say what they will [can?];
 Call this my faulte, my follie, or myshappe:
 If my good quene have mercye on her man,
 The tre shall lyve thoughe wounded be the sappe;

Whose harte is sounde, and never colde be wrought
 By love, or hate, or hope of any gayne,
 Of my good quene to thynke so evell a thoughte;
 Whom God preserve an aged quene to be,
 To Inglondes joye, betyde what maye of me.

AN AUNSWERE TO THAT FIRST IS WRETIN.

Good ever due, destroyed wth p^sent yll,
 Showes ofte ill mente, though onse exprest amys;
 No lief, forepaste in truthe and dutie still,
 Can lycense faultes for w^{ch} yo^r troble is.

O wretched they y^t quyte soche princes soo!
 But thus wth yow, O vaynest man! it frames;
 For often well suche gwerdon here to showe,
 And with oon yll deserve ten thousand blames.

Waile not yo^r happ, whose happier sped had ben,
 Synne and myshappe in faulte, not fate, dothe lie:
 Both of good dedes wante of desertes therin,
 W^{ch} slielye lefte, to God and quene yow flie.
 Mercie pforce to[o] craves for synnes unsene,
 W^{ch}, self unsene, ought moste offend our quene.

A heape of synnes well saide, confest to God,
 Not well confest to hyde so great a mysse;
 Not well receyv'd his due deserved rodde,
 When graunted faulte to quene is only this:—

Yow did a perilous quene, to[o] fortunate,
 More then advyse agaynste yo^r prynces here,
 By sufferyng slayte to daunger the estate
 Of frynd by kynde, of quene, a neighbo^r nere:

Whether, agaynst yo^r owne true mistres will,
Yow sowghte to steale out of her highnes hands
That whylom quene, who, gilteles of y^t yll,
Or any soche, yow bid your bitter bandes,
W^{ch} rays'd yo^r pitie of her myserye,
The pange and purpose of yo^r sympathye.

Well shewes yo^r tyme in soch a passion spente,
And thrall'd will to please her reching mynde;
Letters conveyed, to daungerous intente,
To helpe her luste, to hurte our quene we fynde.

Loo! here yo^r truthe, now glose it as yow can.
Call it yo^r follie, fancie, or myshappe;
If now yo^r quene pitie her swarved man,
The tre new graft may lyve with changed sap.

On head stocke no more to be so wroughte
By love, or hate, or unjust hope of gayne,
Agaynst her to pursue so fowle a thowghte,
To wyne to perell of her lief or reigne;
Whom god an aged quene make to remayne,
Beyond her lief that made yow erre in vayne.

Hic niger est, hunc tu Regina caveto.

HEREAFTER FOLLOWITH AN EPITAPHE OF THE DEATHE OF THE VICOUNT
HERRIFORDE.

When Vicount Herriford had ron his rase,
And ended wer his dayes,
Dame Fame stepte forth, and bad me wright
Sum thinge unto his prayse;
What man he was, what actes he did,
What stock he was of com;
Whearunto I called for True Reporte,
To give his rightfull dome.

A lorde by birthe, and of auncient blud,
Lorde Ferres he was the same,
Of the garter he was an auncient knight,
Vycomte Herreforde create by name.
Browght up and trayned [much] he was
In warres beyond the seas,
Called home agayne to serve his prynce,
Whom still he sowght to please.

No serves was that he refused,
No turneye did he shunne,
Full many wer the noble dedes,
This worthie man hathe done:
In peace a lambe, in fild full ferce,
A lyon at the nede;
In cowncell he was a Cato righte,
And one of Hector's sede.

But as itche fruite, when it is ripe,
Doth falle of his owne accorde,
So cruell death wth grevous gripe
Hath cawte this mightie lorde:
And thoughe the grownd receyved hathe
His corps into her wombe,
His fame shall live and never die,
Who lokes uppon his tombe.

For thoughe he be now dede in dede,
Yet lyeth he here alyve,
Whose actes and dedes so noble wer,
No man can them deprive.

The people maye lament right sore
This lordes deathe so sone;
The heavens may reioyce the more
That soche a jewell hath wonne.
To allmightti God let us praye,
Whiles we have tyme and space,
That he the sowle of this worthie lorde
Wolde lovingely imbrace.

THE SONGE OF THE RIGHT NOBLE EARLE WALTER ERLE OF ESSEX, BY
HIM SONGE THE NIGHT BEFORE HIS DISCEACE, WHO DIED IN YEAR-
LONDE YN SEPTEMBER, ANNO D'NI 1576.

O heavenly God ! O father dere !
Caste downe thie tender eye
Uppon a wretche that prostrate here
Byfore thye throne doth lye.
O, pore thie precyous oyle of grace,
Into my wounded harte !
O, lett the droppes of mercye swage
The rigour of my smarte !

My synfull sowle, oppressed sore
With carefull clog of synne,
In humble sorte submyttith it self,
Thye mercye for to wyne.
Graunte mercye, then, O Saviour swete !
To me, moste wooful thralle,
Whose mornefull crye to thee alone
Dothe still for mercye call.

Thie blessid will I have dispised
Uppon a stubborne mynde,
And to the swaye of worldly things
My self I have inclyned :
Forgetting heaven and heavenly powers,
Whear God and saynts doth dwell,
My lieff had like to trode the steppes
That leades the waye to hell.

But, my dere Lorde and leadstone bright,
I will no more do soo:
To thynk uppon my fformer lyeff,
My harte dothe melte for woo.
Alas, I sythe, alas, I sobbe,
Alas, I do repente,
That ever my lycencyous will
So wickedly was bente.

Sythe this, therefor, with irefull playnte
Thie mercy I do crave,
O Lorde! for thie great mercyes sake,
Let me thy mercye have.
Restore to lyef the wretched sowle
That ells is like to die,
So shall my voyce unto thie name
Singe prayse eternallye.

Nowe blessed be the Father first,
And blessed be the sonne,
And blessed be the holy ghoste,
By whom all things ar done:
Blisse me, O blessid trinitytie!
With thie eternall grace,
That after deathe my sowle may have
In heaven a dwelling place.

THE ROBIN.

Of all the birdes that flyeth wth wynges

The Robyn hath no pere,

For he in filde and howse can singe

And chante it all the yere:

This Robyn is a pretye one,

Well formed at poynte devise,

A mynnion birde to loke uppon,

And suer of worthye pryse.

His lokes be brave, his voice full shrill,

His fethers bravelye pruned,

And all his members wrought at will,

With notes full trymly tuned.

The crowe is black, the kite is dun,

The chatteringe pie is pide,

The sparrowe called Venus sonne,

Wth many mo beside,

As dawes, [as] doves, and dottrell too,

Can singe no kinde of note,

Nor peacock that with taile can wo,

Nor swanne wth his longe throte,

Can make no myrthe, soche is their kynde,

Wheras by night or daye,

The Robyn doth delight the mynde,

Above them all, I saye.

The gose but gaggelith in her gate,

The cock he can but crowe,

A thowsand birdes do not but prate,

And gangell wheare they goo:

The larke and lynnett singith well,
 The thrissell dowe his best;
 The Robbyn beares away ye bell,
 And passeth all the rest.
 He is famyller with a lorde,
 And dreames wheare ladies are:
 He can in howse singe and recorde,
 When busshe and bryer is bare.

The nyghttingale will scarce be tame,
 No companye kepe he can;
 He dare not shewe his face for shame,
 He feareth the loke of man;
 But Robyn like a man can loke,
 And dothe shunne no place;
 He will syng in every noke,
 And stare yow in the face.
 He takith bred upon the bordé,
 And then awaye he goes;
 Wherfore, to tell [you] at a worde,
 His noble kynde he showes.

How straunge of nature everye waye
 Are diverse birdes indede:
 The Robyn in a wynter's daye
 Will playe with yow for nede.
 Whylles other birdes abrode wilbe,
 In froste and snowe to[o] badd,
 Into the chamber will he flie,
 Wheare pleasure maye be had
 Amongest the dames, whose nature is
 To pittie thinges distreste:
 The Robyn is in heaven's blisse
 When some have lytell reste.

They are but wodcokes that do frowne,
At Robbyn's happe soo good:
He hurtes no birde in fild or town,
In forest, ne in wodde.
Although he hoppes from beame to bawlke,
And hoppes abowte the bedd,
When pecocks prowde abowt do walke
With hartes as colde as leade.
Yet Robyn deserves prayse therfore,
If he his merittes have,
That from the froste and wynter sore
His fethers so can save.

Nowe, Robbyn, rattle forthe thy songe,
And make thy wordes to rynge:
I praye to God thow prosper longe,
And all that so can synge.
Fie on all folishe dasterdly birdes,
That singe with cowardes voice!
They may be likened unto owles,
Whiche no wheare can rejoyse.
As I have saied, so saye I still,
The Robbyn passith all
That ever sange so at [his] will
Amongest us, greate or smalle.

VERSES MADE IN THE WORTHIE COMENDAC'ON OF THE QUEENES MAIESTIE.

Yow men y^t read the memoryes
 Of wonders done and paste,
 Remember well the historys
 Of women first and laste ;
 And tell me if I saye not true,
 That women can do more then yow,
 And more then any man can doo,
 So quyecklie and so trym. [fast?]
 What counterpoyntes of pollycie,
 Of arte, and of artyfycie,
 But women wth facylitie
 Can compas and forecaste.

How longe wer men with akornes fed,
 Of old tyme long agoo,
 Till Ceres put into their heades
 Their grownde to eare and sowe.
 She tawght them how to brue and bake,
 And of ther corne good breade to make;
 Or ells did Epha all mystake,
 Who wrightith to be soo:
 Erechuell she did devise
 To spyinne, and carde, and exercise
 The use of yerne in sundry wyse,
 As now good profe dothe shewe.

Pentissillia she did devise
 The ax whearwith yow hewe ;
 Tritonia for waxe [verse?] so wyse,
 As syns ther wer but fewe:
 Semerima for shippyng trade,
 Devised the first that ever was made,
 As Plynnye in his boke hathe saide,
 Who wrightith to be soo.
 And then com to paynter's skill,
 Erema had her hande at will;
 Selyma wth wevors quyll
 Wrought still devyses newe.

And for the mery musick, then,
 Melpomene she did passe,
 As oon that first of all beganne,
 To fynde what connyng was:
 Trixsecora cold so invente
 To stryng and tune the instrumente,
 As moved the very fyrmament,
 I thinke, whiles her tyme was;
 Aud for a voyce excellynge hye
 The dawghter of Cananatie,
 As wrytten bokes doo testyfie,
 Thorowghout the worlde did passe.

And for the spyrit of profecye
 Debora had the gyfte;
 And Judith in her juperdie
 Did make excellynge shyfte.
 Correna for her poyetrye
 With honor did God worshipp hie,
 As storis written testyfie,
 Her sences they wer swyfte.

And cum then to phylosophye,
 Thear hathe ben soche a companye,
 As Susan, Ruthe, and Eugeny;e;
 I nede no more to sifte.

Amasia was an oratrix,
 In learyng did excell,
 And pleded cawses more than six
 In Rome, whear she did dwell:
 Hispacia was right eloquente;
 Ortensia was eccellente;
 Camelia colde best invente,
 With those that beare the bell.
 Of theise and many wonders mo,
 Yow men, your selves your prayses show,
 Of theise and many thowsands mo,
 W^{ch} semythe to excelle.

Syns theise and many historis
 Ar written of by men,
 Of dyuerse kyndes of properties
 By dyverse women then,
 I praye what end such happ sholde fall,
 I knowe oone suche doth pas them all
 That ever was, or ever shall,
 And they wer all alyve agayne.
 I praye what prayse deservyth she
 If in our Courte her highnes be?
 Well, you shall know no more of me:
 God save her life! Amen.

FINIS.

A RELATION OF SOME ABUSES

WHICH ARE

COMMITTED AGAINST THE COMMON-WEALTH;

TOGETHER WITH

A FREINDLIE REPREHENSION OF THE SAME.

COMPOSED ESPECIALIE FOR THE BENEFIT OF THIS COUNTIE OF DURHAME,
DECEMBER THE XXVJTH, 1629,

BY

A POORE FREIND & WELWISHER TO THE COMMON-WEALTH.

EDITED FROM THE ORIGINAL MS.

PRESERVED IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM,

BY

SIR FREDERIC MADDEN, K.H. F.R.S.

PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.LIV.

INTRODUCTION.

THE following little Tract, it is believed, has sufficient merit to claim to be rescued from oblivion. The writer has purposely concealed his name, and it would be fruitless now, perhaps, to search for it under the initials A. L. which appear at the end of the dedication. He tells us, however, that he was born in the county of Durham; was for divers years an attendant of Sir Ralph Assheton (of Great Lever and Whalley) in Lancashire; and, at the time of his writing, in 1629, was a poor bachelor, without land or estate, and then resident, apparently, at no great distance from the city of Durham. His "rusticke stile" requires, indeed, some apology, for the parenthetical structure of his sentences occasionally offers some impediment to the sense; yet he was evidently, in some degree, a scholar, and a man of reading. His intention in writing this Discourse, was to set forth, in an earnest manner, the Abuses he lamented to witness in his native county and the kingdom in general, which he classes under four heads, namely, the waste of woods,—the pulling down of castles and fortresses,—the decay of martial discipline,—and the vanities of the people, in drinking, smoking, and apparel. His remarks under each head have a certain interest, particularly in regard to the partial destruction of Raby Castle, (sacrificed for the sake of the lead, iron, and stone, as, in the last century, the castles of Hurstmonceaux, in Sussex, and Pencoeed, in Monmouthshire, have been,) and to the changes and extravagancies of fashion. His work is dedicated to the Rt. Rev. Richard Hunt, Dean of Durham, whom he calls "for authoritie, dignitye, learning and

vertues, the prime ornament and glory of our countye," yet, notwithstanding this praise, all that is known of the Dean may be summed up in a few lines. Whether he was the same with the Richard Hunt of Trinity college, Cambridge, 1608, who in 1619 was incorporated as M. A. at Oxford, is uncertain (Wood, *Fasti Oxon.* ed. Bliss, vol. i. col. 391); but he appears to have been Rector of Folsham, in Norfolk, from 1594 to 1620, and Rector of Tyrinton, in the same county, from 1609 to the time of his death. He is stated also to have been Chaplain to King James, and in 1613 was made Prebendary of Canterbury. (Kennet's Notes, MS. Lansdowne 984, f. 251.) In 1620 Sir Adam Newton resigned the Deanery of Durham "for a certain sum of money," and thereupon, says Bishop Kennet, Dr. Hunt was installed, 29 May, 1620. He died 28 November, 1638, and beyond these meagre dates, his Epitaph, in the cathedral at Durham, as recorded by Willis and Hutchinson, furnishes his chief panegyric. It was inscribed, says the latter, "on a tablet of wood, fixed to the adjoining pillar, which not being esteemed ornamental, was taken down, and thrown into the vestry-room"! (Hist. of Durham, vol. ii. p. 54.) It read as follows :

Hic jacit orborumque pater viduæque maritus
 Fœlix qui proprio fovit utrosque sinu.
 Spes columenque inopum, pes claudis, lumina cœcis,
 Hospitium exulibus, præsidium miseris.
 Cur tabulas rogites? legat bona nulla supremis,
 Quod semper solitus non moriturus agit?
 In promptu ratio est, donaverat omnia vivens,
 Scilicet et tandem non habet unde daret.

It only remains to be added, that this Discourse is printed from a MS. in the British Museum, acquired in the year 1850, (*Additional*, 18,147), and which appears to be the original copy presented to the Dean of Durham.

F. MADDEN.

British Museum, 27 November, 1854.

To the Right Reverend, and worth RICHARD HUNT, Doctour
of Divinitie, Deane of Durham, & one of his mat^{ties}
Justices of peace and Quorum within the Countie of
Durhame, the Author of this ensuing Discourse wisheth
all externall, internall, and eternall happines.

Right Reverend and Worshipfull :

The tender affection and earnest desire of benefitting (and doing service to) my poore native Country (this Bishoprick of Durham), and yo^r good Wor^{sh}, hath encouraged and embouldened mee to offer and present to yo^r favourable regard this homely and unpolisht Discourse which ensueth, (and the rather, for you are for authoritie, dignitie, learning and vertues, the prime ornament and glory of our Countye,) but my judgement being so weake, and my Discourse so replenished wth imperfections, I am affraid to preferre such a meane worke to so worthy a gentleman, least (insteade of cherishing) yo^u should reject it, as frivolous and needelesse. But (worthie Sir) my hopes are so strengthened with the generall good report of yo^r honourable disposi^{ti}on, and great curtesie, that I nothing despaire to obtaine yo^r pardon and favourable acceptance of my vertuous endevo^ur, (albeit there be founde small worth in mee, more then * a thirsting desire of doing well,) which (in yo^r Wor^{sh}s abundant clemencie) may supply for the action. The subject of my Discourse is drawne from considera^{ti}on of the Abuses and wronge, w^{ch} (as I conceive) are offred to the Comonwealth (which I can scarce remember without inexprimable heart grieve, nor write upon without flood of teares); if therefore passion swaie me, or simplicitie drawe mee to committ any errorrs, let (I besech yo^u) yo^r hono^{ble} disposi^{ti}on & grave wisdom be pleased to connive thereat; seeing yo^rselfe (and none else)

* For than, as elsewhere throughout this treatise.

is onely the supervisor thereof. My purposes and ententē are vertuous, and chiefly aime at the glorie of Almightye God, and the benefitt of my Countrie; as yo^r Wor^p may the bett^r discernē by perusing the same. I know right well, that none can write any discourse which smelleth of reprehension, but that hee shalbe carped at, & hated of all those whose consciences are conscious of errorrs; and albeit that I am placed in such a lowe degree, that none can envy mine estate, yet (so strongly are men rooted in malice) that if they (whome I touch afar off) come but to a knowledge of my writinge, they will seeke utterly to suppressē and confounde mee; for the preventing wherof, I am forced, not onely to implore your good Wor^{ps} p^tection, but that the concealinge of my name (for the present) maie be nothing offensive to yo^r Wor^p, seing I am here present in pson, to shew both it and my place of habita^cōn (and in like sort to subscribe my name to my worke), if I shalbe thereunto required. And my humble request (to yo^r Wor^p) is, that yo^u wilbe pleased onely to peruse, & consider of these Abuses yo^r selfe, and not suffer my poore & meane endeavours to be divulged; and that (also) by yo^r grave wisdomē, authoritie, & learning, (or by the exciting of some learned Pen,) yo^u will, as farre as in yo^u resteth, helpe to reforme all (or so many) of these things, as shall appeare (or be thought) Abuses; and that my insufficiencie of learning, ignorance, or imperfections may not hinder yo^r favourable acceptance of the worke. And thus beseeching Almightye God to continue and encrease your good Wor^{ps} health and happynes, and to grant such good successe to my poore endeavours, as may best stand wth his hono^r, and the good of my Countrie, humbly submitting my selfe & writings to yo^r worthie regard, I take my leave; resting this 26th day of December, 1629,

Yo^r (Reverend Fatherhoodē
and Wor^{ps}) Orato^r till death,

A. L.

A RELACÛN OF ABUSES.

FORASMUCH as the preservaçõn of the Comõnwealth, (next to the service of God), is (and ought to be) the prime and principall scope of all our actions and endevo^re, I should thinke my selfe unworthie the name of a man, if I had the strength of Hercules, or so happy an invention, and psuasive oratorie, as that fountaine of eloquence Cicero had, if I should not consume all my force, wisdom, & endeavours, (and consequently sacrifice my dearest blood, and life,) for the benefitt thereof. But mine invention being so barren, my stile so poore, and my oratorie so weake, I am constrayned (in steade of invention) to breath out hearty sighes (for wordes), to use wayling, and (for writing) to wring my hande, (yea, and distaine the paper wth my teares, w^{ch} I should write upon wth my pen,) when I behold the wretched face & forme of this (late) unparalleld & religious County (wherein I had my first breath and breeding) so pittifully eclipsed wth imperfections, and metamorphosed from the happie estate w^{ch} it formerly enjoyed. And yet (mee thinkes) discretion tells mee, that my vanity were as grosse on the one side, as my pious zeale and earnest affection (of the felicitie thereof) can be praiseworthy on the other side, if I should persist in lamentaçõns; for some may say, "*Quid tibi cum republica? cur te sollicitas?*" why doest thou vex thy selfe? thou hast neither lande nor livings, wife nor children to take care for; neither canst thou loose any earthly possessions or estate; *nihil est, nihil deest*; onely thy life is (as it seemeth) the chiefe thing w^{ch} thou woldest preserve; and if it be so, (yet know that all men must dye,) cast thy care upon him who is alwaies

the preserver of his, and thou shalt not nede to feare any earthlie calamitie, or death it selfe." I believe that this is all true. The Lord can at all tymes (even miraculously), if it shall seeme good to his eternall majesty, kepe his children safe, that a haire of their heades shall not fall, though all the foundations of the earth be removed out of their places. But can any man, who is a freind to his countrey, and unfainedly thirsteth for the safetie thereof (more then his owne life), behold the daylie depopulaçõn, destruction, and imminent ruine thereof, without teares? If our age (or country) produce *tale hominis monstrum*, one who is so farre allured or enchanted wth the deadlie melodie of the Sirenes, or the Circean charmes of the vanities of our tymes, it shalbe my charitie rather to praie for the enlightening of his understandinge, then his perseverance in that carelesnes and neglect, which may presage the ruine, of such a man. And now because the estate & condiçõn, not onely of this Countie, and the inhabitants thereof, but also of the whole kingdome, may yeild manyfold causes of lamentaçõns, (the conceit whereof might amase or confounde a man of much more wisdomẽ then my selfe,) I will onely discourse upon these foure partes or kindẽ of Abuses, viz.: the great waiste of woodẽ; the imprudent and base ruinating and pulling downe of our castles and fortresses; the great decaie of martiall discipline; and the generall vanities of our people. Of all which (wth the reverend patience of the judicious reader) I will onely touch some few branches, which my meane learning and weake capacitie can best comprehend (as being much more willing to conceale, then laie open the defectẽ of my countrie, if the dutie which I owe unto it, did not compell mee thereunto); neither should I have presumed to touch any of these things, if I had not discerned them to be utterly neglected by those w^{ch} are of greate worth and understanding, and whome they doe especially (and without all comparison) more nearely concerne then my selfe. And therefore (in this place) I humbly entreate the judicious reader (through the abundance of his clemencie, & grave wisdomẽ), to

pardon my rusticke stile & methode, and the (unwilling) errorē of my writinge; and the rather, because the tender good will of my cōtrie moves mee to write, who (otherwise) would have confined my selfe to an eternall silence.

I. ABUSE.

In the first place (touching the waste of woodes), it is knowne to all men by experience, that (under God Almighty) none earthly thing alone doth more uphold the good estate of a comōnwealth, then woodē; for take them awaie, and what can succede, but ruine? Wee can neither build or mainteyne church, castle, hall, or house, if woodē be awantinge. Or suppose, wee had as flourishing a comōn-wealth, as ever any nation coulde desire, yet if wee had no supplie of woodē, (within a very few yeares) wee should have neither house, nor harbour, plowing nor sowing, but (all of us) be forced to leave and forsake our countries, or else to die for want of necessaries. I could in the commendaçōn thereof, (if my reading and knowledge were answereable to the large extent of my theame,) employ a large volume, and yet come farre short of explanaçōn of its excellence; but it is not much nedefull, seing (wee all knowe) that wee can doe nothing, nor be p'served alive wthout the same. And yet (wth teares I write it), albeit the use thereof be of such extraordinarie necessitie, as cannot be disciphered (almost) by the penne of man, yet there is such havocke and unnecessarie waste made thereof, that wthin these twenty yeares (if God be not mercyfull in altring the resolutions of the cheife owners of it), wee shall not have a hundred oake trees in this whole Countye. I could produce the names of many gentlemen (and others) in these partes, who (in my tyme, and to my knowledge) have cutt downe hundredē and thousandē of oakes, onely for their barks (the barke of so many score trees being solde for x^d the tree, so many hundredē at xij^d the tree, and so many at xv^d the tree, and

then they cast up the whole sōme, and rejoyce that they have made so good a bargaine); yea, this penny wisdom and pound folly is of such estimacōn, that a man shall scarce* finde a yongespendthrift, or nedefull † cockescombe (country-man I should saie) in a whole countrey (if hee be an owner of woodes), w^{ch} will not presently sell the barks of one or two hundred trees to any tanner (w^{ch} puts forth the hande); albeit that hee neither hath use himselfe, nor knoweth of a chapman, for five of the trees, being onely lead on (or induced thereunto) wth this conceit, *that woods will sell at all tymes*, w^{ch} is too true (& more is the pittie).

I should scarce gaine believe, if I should write that there be some men (& of great worth also), who wthin these two yeares, have cutt downe a great part of the verie timber, w^{ch} is the chiefe grace, ornament, and defence of their manno^r & houses, (and have kept them from the blustering blastes of Boreas, and the nipping stormes of many winters,) onely for the barks; or howe a gentleman of good worth (in this Countie), wanting a matter of twenty pound^ē, (and not knowing in this stony age of ours how to procure so much instantlie,) sent for a tanner (whom I also know very well), walked into his wood^ē, and sould him the barks of 300 trees (such as hee should chuse) for the same xx^{li}: and I dare be bould to affirme it, that hee knew not at that houre of any chapman for ten of the trees. A man surely cannot be accounted wise in such actions as these, and yet it is admirable to see how comōnly they are practised; for wee have scarce a Lord or Gentleman (entring to his land^ē), but the first act w^{ch} hee doeth (after hee hath called a Court, and inhansed his rent^ē), is to view his woodes, and if it can appeare that eyther the tymber (for buildinge), the underwood^ē (for iron or lead workes), or the barke (for tanners) will yeild present money, then the woods are the first thing w^{ch} come to ruine. And alas! there is small or no hope of any amendment of this Abuse; for (as it [is] related to me by sundry psons) there is a nobleman (whose lands adjoyne to the place

* scare *MS.*

† *i.e.* needy.

where I live), who purposeth to sell the timber and underwoode of a whole parke, w^{ch} if hee doe, (and that Brancepeth parke go downe also, as it is certaine, wthout Gode speciall grace, it will,) wee must be forced wthin twenty yeares to have provision of woode for plowe geare, reparaçons of hedges, &c. from Ireland, or by sea; then w^{ch} what can be more lamentable!

I have often heard, that the Spanyards (for the maintayninge of their iron workes) plant six trees for each one w^{ch} they cut downe; but wee (to mainteyne irone workes, leade workes, tillage, &c.) for each tree which wee plant, cutt downe six hundred (I might saie, sixe thousande, for, in these partes, there is no such thing as planting or springing of woodes heard of); the consideraçon whereof makes mee thinke, that such poore Bachello^{rs} as my selfe (w^{ch} have neither wives nor children) are happy men; for to what purpose do men marry wives, or beget children? or how is it likely or possible, that those w^{ch} succede us shall live, when wee (our selves) use all meanes to destroie & waist our countries? and (which is worse above all comparison then the rest) without all sence of sorrow for the same! Surelie, if our Ancesto^{rs} had done as wee doe, wee might by this tyme have learned to digge up the earth, & make burrowes therein, as the conies doe, or to have made our houses in the cliftes of the rockes; and then wee should have knowne the benefit of woode by wofull experience. It would cause any man to weepe (if he had but an ounce of charitable blood in his whole bodie), to behould the poore dejected oakes, w^{ch} now lye upon the earth overgrowne wth mosse, corrupted, and spoiled, in many pkes and woode (and in some towne-streetes) of this Countye; all which (if they had growne without barks) had still bene the glorie and ornament of this countrie.

I have often heard, that if a nobleman or gent of Scotland had proved traitour to his prince or countrie (amongst many other dishonours and punishmente, w^{ch} were inflicted upon him), all his houses were pulled (and his woode cutt) downe, that there might

nothing remaine to reedifie and build againe his houses wthall, but that his habitacōns and country might remaine as a desert or wildernes. And this was (in myne opinion) a greater punishment then ten thousand deathes: yet (alas!) wee are so farre blinded wth the spirit of errour, andso stupified and bewitched wth the effeminate vanities of our tymes, that wee account the cutting downe of woodē a matter of indifferencie, or (rather) no moment; nay, wee are so farre from esteeming it a fault, that wee hould it a pt of good husbandrie, and no dishonour, but rather a commendable vertue. But in the name and feare of God, let us remember, that no Commonwealth can remaine prosperous, if it want the continuall supply of woodē; and let us also believe (as it is too likely) that the cutting downe thereof is one of the judgem^tē of God (as wee have lately tasted many), which is laide upon us for our sinnes; and that (if wee do not spedylie repent, and amend our wicked lives) wee our selves shalbe in no better estate then our woodē are, but rather in worse. Let us also (but) looke into many of our pceedings wth the eyes of wisdom and discretion, and it will appeare, that in the most of them wee are no better, but rather more cruell then enemyes. If wee looke but into the exactions of rentē, oppressions, extortions, &c. wee shall beholde inexprimable abuses. For if the Spanyard, the Turke, or the devill (*humana specie*) should cōme into our kingdom, and cutt downe whole thousandē of oakes and other trees; pull downe all our fortresses and castles, and sell the iron doores, window-barres, and leades thereof, perhaps to our utter enemies; inhanse & racke the rents of our groundē, that a poore man could not get a goose-gate (as wee saie) wthout money; and in steade of relievinge and comforting the poore (which received the stile of beggars from his diabolicall oppression), should cage them up in correction houses, and whip them sorer then ever poore gally-slave was, (w^{ch} is the onely &, I may say, alone charity w^{ch} is conferred upon the poore people of our age, and is odious to a tender-hearted childe of God, and questionles was suggested into mens myndē and

sett on foote first by the devill);—if, I saie, such an one were amongst us, and not borne in our owne lande, *Dii boni!* what generall exclamaçons, what wishes, what teares, and praiers should be sent up to heaven, yea, and curses downe to hell, for the rooting out, and removinge of such Hell-hounde! But yet, wee can see our owne countrymen do many of these things, and they are winked at, excused, and (by some) commended for these preposterous (I will not saie, impious) practises.

There is one man, whose dwellinge place is wthin twenty miles of the citye of Durhame, which hath brought to the grounde (to omitt all underwood^e) above 30,000 oakes in his life tyme; and (if hee live longe) it is to be doubted, that hee will not leave us so much tymber or other woode in this whole County as will repaire one of our churches, if it should fall, his iron and leade workes do so fast consume the same. I will pray, that God would alter his mynde from such unnaturall procedings against his countrie; for it is a practise w^{ch} doth rather agree wth the nature of an open enemy then a true countryman, that any man (to encrease his owne particular estate) should procure the generall ruine of the Comōnwealth, whereof all good men in former ages have bene so carefull, that hee was accounted a monster, which should refuse to undergoe any paines (or death itselfe) for the good thereof; such was the great love w^{ch} they bare unto it. Parents are deare, children deare, freinds & kinred deare (saith Cicero), but the Comōnwealth *omnes omnium amores complectitur*, is more deare then all, *pro qua quis bonus oppetere mortem dubitet, si ei sit profecturus?* for w^{ch} (saith hee) who will not willingly die, if hee may bringe profit thereunto? Cicero said rightlie; I am * also of opinion, that no man (which feares God sincerely) will avoide any lawfull meanes to benefitt or preserve his countrie: and let this suffice for the first Abuse.

* am of *MS.*

II. ABUSE.

As the waste of woodes is a forerunner of the ruine of the buildings and habitacōns of a countrie, so it maie be imagined, that the throwing downe of castles and fortresses may produce the like effect to the inhabitant^e; for castles and fortresses (howsoever now they be esteemed) were builded (as partly for ornam^t, so) principally for the preserva^{ti}on of the weale publiq^e. If then the preservers thereof be thrown downe, how shall the same be preserved? Mee thinkes I heare a Braggadocian or Sicophant of these tymes tell mee, *Viris fortibus non opus est mœnibus*; men of valiant disposi^{ti}on scorne the walles of a castle, and preferre an earthen trench before them. It is true, that valient men sometymes will contemne strong walles (as uselesse), and yet neverthesse sometymes they will use them, and be glad of them. But ere wee reject them, let us examine (accordinge to our simple opinion & judgem^t) wherein valoure truly consisteth: it rests not (as I conceive) in potting and piping, using phantastique, apish, and effeminate gesture, apparaile, and diett; not in roaring, swaggering, looking bigge, swearing damnable oathes, or stabbing one another in an ale-house or taverne. How then? true valoure rather appeares in these things: to feare Almighty God sincerely (w^{ch} doth deliver us from all base terrestriall & infernall feare); to love our Country so faithfully, that wee shall willingly endure heate, colde, hunger, thirst, storme, tempest, perills of sea, and pills of lande, yea, and deathe itselfe for it; to scorne all conceites of basenes, dastardynes, effeminatenes, apishnes, gaudynes, covetousnes, and (the Devills sisters sonne, which all men for the most pt beare in their breasts,) hypocriticalnes; to beare *mens sana in corpore sano*, a valient heart in such a bodie (whose discretion is absolute & perfect, and) w^{ch} hath never bene debilitated or corrupted with the lasciviousnes (or luxuries) of these tymes; to sacrifice that blood to the honor of God, and the good of the comōn

weale, w^{ch} is (for the most pte) prostituted to the service of the female sex, &c. Now, if wee shall seeke out a valient man by these, and such other markes, as are required in him, there will not be so many founde, as may be expected. But admit that (wee) men were of such excellent mettall and composi^cōn, that wee neded no walles at all, yet it were some charitie to provide for women & little children. Wee have many delicate and sweete ladies and gentlewomen, which (in the tyme of distresse, and not having any hope of safetye in their owne mansions,) were utterly unable to lye in an earthen trench one night, wthout great danger of death, or (at the best) impayring of their healthes; and wee have many tender and deare children, whose safeties wee prize as dearelie as our owne lives. Judge then (in case of extreame necessitie) what inexplicable comfort a castle or walled towne might afforde us, for their safeties (to omitt the good, w^{ch} wee our selves might reape thereby); yea, verily (I am of opinion, that) wee should much more cherefully undergoe all the perills of warre, when wee (leaving them well guarded) should hope, that (notwithstanding our owne pills) they should be reskued from the jawes of the enemie. But these considera^cōns, (alas! and woe is mee!) are utterly troden under foote, and neglected. Wee suffer the tender hearte and bowells of our deare country to be torne out, and throwen in our faces, whilst wee dwell in vaine delightes, foole our selves in unprofitable imagina^cōns, and slepe in security! If wee would but vouchsafe to behold, how the insulting enemies of our State rejoyce at these ruinings and destroyings of (these) our worthie buildings, and what encouragement they take thereby to assaile our kingdome, I doubt not but that wee should soone behoulde the end of these inconsiderate, foolish, and wicked proceedings; com^on sence, mee thinkes, should teach us that, disarming our selves, wee adde strength to our enemies. I remember an Apologie to the same effect: A lyon came a wooing to a country-mans daughter, and demanded her in marriage, but her father answered, that hee would not marry her to

him, except hee would first pull out his teeth, and cutt awaie his nailes, which terrified his daughter. The lyon (bearing an entire goodwill to the maide, and being willing to doe any thing to obtaine such a peerelesse paragon,) did so; and when hee had so done, hee came and demaunded her of her father, accordinge to his promise. But the country-man (seing and pceiving, that hee had no meanes lefte to doe him harme,) in steade of his faire daughter, gives him his backe loade of stroakes (to recompence his folly), and sende him awaie. The Apologie hath this morall, that hee is altogether madde, which (putting off his owne armor) submitteth himselfe to the favour of his enemye: (for mee) I will applie nothing, but rather referre these things to the consideraçon of the wise; yet, my simple wisdom suggests it into my minde, that if wee had studied all our lives to gratifie the enemyes of our State, wee could do them no service more acceptable, then to pull downe our castles & fortresses. I have sometymes thought, when I viewed Rabie Castle (since pt of it was pulled downe), that it had bene a happie thing for us all, if the worthie founder thereof had covered it wth slate or thatch. Oh, madnesse! Can forty poundes worth of leade be more worth, then a tower, whose buildinge cost above two thousande? shall such a princely building (w^{ch} might have bene the seate of the greatest Emperour of the worlde) be made a dawes neast? and shall the leade and iron thereof be transported (padventure to our enemyes), and not be accompanied wth one teare? Oh! that the hearty good wishes of a poore soule might have founde favour before God and the Kinge! surely then they should never have torne out the heart-strings of that worthie Castle, whilst I had lived.

It cannot be written or imagined what wronge (not onely this Countie, but) our whole Kingdome maie receive by the losse thereof, yet, if the pulling of it downe could have brought any great comoditie to the owner, it had bene some what more tollerable; but to deface (as the report goes) three towers, w^{ch} can not be builded at this daie under ten thousande pounde, for seaven score poundes

worth of leade and iron, is (in my judgement) grosse simplicitie. But admitt hee might have filled his coffers wth golde, by the ruinating of such an incomparable buildinge, surely such treasure could never have prospered; nay (it is to be feared, that) it would have drawne malice, misery, destruction, and the wrath of God upon the possessor^s thereof. If the Jewes held an opinion, that it was not lawfull to put the price of blood amongst their treasurie, what would they have done then with that money, which may be the price of a whole counties (or kingdomes) blood? would they have coffer'd it up? No, surely, they would have consumed it by one meanes or another.

There was once a Bishop of Lincolne, which for the preservation of this kingdome, builded six castles (as Camden and others write); his name (as I remember) was Alexander, and hee was sirnamed, for his bountie, *munificus*; and hee built also for the service of God six religious houses. If this worthie man had first seene his religious houses dissolved, and the revenues thereof conferrd upon the unworthie, and afterwarde his castles ruined, hee would (wthout doubt) have died for sorrowe. And therefore (mee thinkes) those, w^{ch} shall for a litle (unprofitable ^a) commoditie (as I may saie) or a handfull of coyne (in comparison of the great cost, w^{ch} the building of such places doth require), are not onely unnaturall, but uncharitable towardē the worthie founders; and it is (too too) likely, that they (or their successorē shalbe punished for the same.

^a Unprofitable, because one evil gotten penny doth carry away wth it xx. which are well gotten.

I will now (ere I proceede further) laie downe a catalogue of Castles in these north partes, which (within thirty yeares last past) have bene all (or the most) of them in good repaire, but now the greater pt of them is utterly ruined, & uselesse. Lancaster Castle standē still, but (notwithstanding y^t it is somewhat repaired) very ruinous; Hornebie Castle (the Lord Mounteagles seate) is in the decaying; Kendall Castle is equall wth the ground; Applebie and Carlile Castles follow after; Kirkoswold Castle, the renouned seate of the noble Dacres, is cast downe (or the most pt of it); Rabie

Castle is (as they saie) the better halfe gone; and Brancepeth is not unlike to follow after. The auntient tower at Durham stande (like a worthie champion) upon the top of a mounte, and viewes the pleasant river of Weere, and the adjacent countrie; yet (mee thinks) the stones of her battlement are in danger to kisse the grounde. No one object afflicts mee more, then to beholde how the Abbey-Church, the Colledge and Bayley at Durham, have bene girt about wth a stronge wall of stone, which (with the commoditie of the river) made the place impregnable; and yet is now pittifully ruined. What shall I saie of the Hie Castle at Newcastle, or of Tynemouth Castle (the strongest sea-fort of this kingdome)? Nothing, but that it grieves mee to see them as they are, and to heare what they have bene. To these I might adde Dunstanburgh, Bewick, Bamburgh, and many other Castles, of w^{ch} nothing remaineth but the ould walles; not one of these (wthout some repaire) is able to keepe out an enemye an houres space; and yet all (of them) have bene stronge & invincible fortes, and might be made such againe, if they were diligently repaired. And these Castles which are in repaire, (as Chillingham, Witton, Skipton, Horneby in Yorkshire, and others) are so weakned by the breaking out of great windowes (some whereof would receive a horse and a cart), that they can afforde (almost) as litle comfort, or strength to their countries, as other meane halles. Thus noble (and gentle) men to make their houses more glorious, and to delight the eyes of some curious gallant, (or being seduced by the spirit of erro^r;) have not onely robbed themselves, but their countries also, of the consolation which such edifices doe afforde, *et fenestram ruinæ patefecerunt*. This is a theame w^{ch} I cannot insist upon any longer, without confused and carefull cogitacons; I will therefore let it rest, least the conceite thereof take that (part of) reason from mee, which is left to pswade mee, that there be some left in our realme, who seriously consider upon (and pittie) our wofull estates. Now from this w^{ch} hath bene written let us make this application, that all these things are inflicted upon us (by the

will of God) to punish our sinnes; and if wee doe not instantly repent, wee shalbe in danger to taist of worse things then these; from the which evils the Lord deliver us all!

III. ABUSE.

As the defacing and pulling downe of our fortresses and castles ministreth manyfolde causes of teares and lamentacons to all true Brittaines, so the decaie of martiall affaires maie produce the like (sad) effectes; for admitt that a man were as stronge as Sampson, Hercules, or any other, (whose valoures are celebrated upon record to posteritie,) to what purpose serveth a stout heart, wthout a prudent & discreete heade? *Parva sunt foris arma, nisi est consilium domi*, and as Cicero saith, *fortis animus et magnus in homine non perfecto plerumq; ferventior est*. Whereby it appeareth, that wisdom must lead valor, and not be led by it. But admitt that a man be both wise and couragious, yet if hee want practise, hee is still imperfct; and if hee have these three, and yet want the fourth (viz. an able bodie), hee is still defective. Then I collect (according to my simplicitie of judgement), that these foure things are requisite in a martiall man: a stoute heart, a good understanding, pfect skill and knowledge in the use and excercise of his armes; and an able & stronge bodie.

For the first of these (I meane a noble heart), there is small doubt, but that wee have millions of men in England and Scotland, who are absolute and incomparable in this respect, and their discretion in all affaires (touching the world, their freindē, or themselves,) is also absolute, and verie good; but if they come to the use of armes, they are (for the most pt) altogether composed of ignorance, and knowe nothing: and the reason is, because they were never (or very seldome) educated therein. Are other country-men better then wee herein? Yea, alas! *experientia docet*, they are awaked and rowsed

up by the terrible God of warre, and must either practise or perish ; and so (it is doubtfull that) wee must be forced to doe, or else our estates may be more dangerous then theirs. For if any of our professed enemyes saw that wee repaired our castles and fortresses, had our trayned and untrained bande expert in martiall affaires, and that the people of our nation addicted themselves willinglie to the defence of their countrie, wee neded not to feare, that they durst presume to approach unto (or assaile) a kingdome as stronge as their owne. No, no, alas ! it is flying, as the saying is, that makes followers ; and a naturall coward, if hee be pswaded that hee copes wth a more dastard then himselfe, will turne a Hercules in valoure. A certaine Apologer yeilde us a pretty tale to that effect. Many dogs of the cittie, espying a countrie dog sneaking wthin their jurisdiction, and fearing (or envying) that hee should p^ticipate with them in the cittie dainties, conspired to destroie him ; and thereupon (all at once) came upon (and assalted) him. What could hee doe ? Hercules him selfe avoided two, but hee had a multitude of assailants ; therefore hee betakes himselfe to flight, and they follow as faste. Hee (wth muche adoe) escapes their jawes, till hee was gotten out of their liberties, (and seing nothing to be expected from them but sodaine & most cruell death,) resolves to die valiently ; and then hee turnes upon them, and gives the foremost of them sharpe entertainment, and shewes his teeth to the rest ; but they p^{ce}iving how hee was resolved, (albeit they were extraordinarie eager upon him when hee fled,) all stand still, and not one of them durst approach or come neare him. The morall of this Apologie implieth thus much, that it is more safe to resist, then give way to an enemye ; and it further gives us this profitable observa^cõn and rule, that (if wee shall shew our selves courageous and nobly minded Brittaines, who will either vanquish our foes, or perish, and rather die for our Prince and countrie wth honoure, then flye wth disgrace), all our enemies, be they never so potent, will keepe at home, not daring to assaile us or our kingdome. But if wee shall seeme fearefull of them, (albeit

to feare wisely doth deliver from feare,) and give waie unto them, what better can wee expect from them but meere destruction, or miserable captivitie (which is worse)? Nay, it may be doubted, (although wee be as stout and couragious as ever any were,) that if wee shall suffer our mindes to be overwhelmed wth atheisme, prophaneenes, scisme, or hipocrisie; our bodies to be corrupted, deformed, or disabled, by drinking, drabbing, gullyng, phantasticall appaile, or idlenes (the mother and nurse of all these); our castles and fortresses to ly waist & uselesse; our armes & weapons to consume wth rust, and the excercise of martiall discipline to perish; that wee are no better then sheepe fitt for the slaughter, but maie be compared to the young steer w^{ch} fed in a pleasant medowe, was fatt, faire, negligent, and insensible of future miserie, and derided the poore labouring oxe. Well, (as the saying is, *Exitus acta probat*.) what was the end of this his scornefull jollitie? Hee was p^rsently led to the sacrifice, and had his throate cutt. Mee thinkes, the application of these things is so lamentable, that I tremble to write them; but the love and dutie which I owe to my countrie, drawes mee on to touch our imperfections, that they maie (in tyme) be cured; and therefore (if I go somewhat out of square) I trust I shalbe more worthie of pardon.

Wee had lately a publique fast for the preserva^con of our kingdome; and God hath blessed it, with adding one yeare to our daies. But what becomes of us? Are wee any better, then wee weere before the same? No, wee are in these pts absolutely (I might saie infinitely) worse. The most pt of us in our lives are litle better then Epicures and gluttons; in our religion, meere carnall professore, hipocrites, & worse (using externall sanctitie, onely as a cloake to shadowe our worlddie pollicies and projects); in our conceites, litle better then vaine glorious asses, fooles, or madde men; and in our appaile (all) transformed from English to French, Islanders of Ree, apes or worse. I might here shew, how great men forgetting that they are (or should be) fathers of the com^on-wealth, and neglecting

their hono^re, dignities, discent, and vertues, live in all lycentiousnes, and oppresse their tenants worse then in any age heretofore. I would to God that they would be pleased to consider, *homines hominum causâ generandos esse* (as Cicero writeth), that one man was made to helpe (not to destroie) another; and that, although the great fishes in the sea live by devouring the lesser, yet amongst the children of God and tender hearted country-men, it ought not to be so. An Apologer tells us, how a country-man travailing to the markt, drove before him a horse and an asse; the horse was idle (and caried nothing,) but the asse was sore loaden; and being depressed wth his great burthen, humbly requestes the horse to ease him of a part thereof, otherwise hee is but deade. The horse (thinking that this petiçõn proceded from the idle disposiçõn of the asse) tells him flatlie hee will not, and wthall seemes to deride him; whereupon (being unable any longer to sustaine his insupportable burthen) the asse falles downe, and dyes instantlie. What gaines the horse by his death? A two-folde vexation & miserie; not onely to beare the whole burthen (which the asse bare), but also the skinnie of the deade asse! and then he cries, alas! wretch that I am, I had better have done thus & thus, &c. The morall hereof teacheth, that wee are not borne for our selves onely, but to helpe others, w^{ch} are oppressed; *ortus nostri* (as Plato saith) *partem sibi patria vendicat, partem amici*; and therefore if exactions, inhansements of rents, and oppression shall (as it is too likely) undoe the comõn people of our lande, and make them unable to resist an enemy or aide a freind, who seeth not, that even the greatest men shall (too late) deplore the same, and if their countrie perish, they shall pish therewith? from w^{ch} evill the God of mercie defende us all! Oh! but (mee thinkes) some maie saie, that the comõn danger of the whole kingdome should infuse mercie into the hearts of landlordes, or, at least, the godlie and substanciall reasons, w^{ch} were contained in the bookes w^{ch} were sett out for the fast, should have wrought so powerfullie upon mens heartes, that all should have taken notice thereby to have

prepared themselves to withstand the enemie. This is very true, (and how they are p^pared in other places, I know not,) but I may justlie feare, that wee (in this Countie) are worse able to resist then before. Our Castles (God hee knowes) are farre (and farre againe) weaker then they weare; and (formerly) wee had often trayning and mustering; but now, wee scarce heare of such a thing as a trayning or mustering daie. I would be anatomised ere I wrote thus largely, but onely that I hope my writing shalbe perused by none but the judicious (for whome I prepared the same, and who hath authoritie and power to rectifie and reforme these faultes); for myne owne part, I wish (from the verie ground and bottome of my heart), that all our errours might be done awaie and forgotten in the sight of God and the world, as soone as they should die to me; and that my worthie country-men would so correct all these enormities, that all indifferent judges might account mee a most malicious slanderer, and inflicte punishment upon mee for the same: assuredlie my disgraces in that kinde, should exceede any (the best) earthlie joyes, w^{ch} can now present themselves unto mee. Yet (I would not be misunderstood) for mee to dispraise a whole kingdome for some few delinquent^e, were great rashnes and follie; for I know some pts, and namelie the countie of Lancaster, (where I was diverse yeares an Attendant to the hono^{ble} Sir Raphe Asheton,) where they have their trained and untrained band^e, which joyntlie (as I have heard) amount to 3600; and this I will affirme, (and all that knowe the martiall discipline there used will concurre wth mee therein,) that there be not in this kingdome any men better furnished wth armes, or qualified wth practise, then in that Countie; (all, or most of, the trained souldiers being as fitt to comande others, as to be commanded themselves;) and I doubt not, but that many other pts of this kingdome can (& doe) equalize them in this, or any other of their chiefest vertues, excellencies, or ornaments.

It were not amisse (in this respect) for us to looke abroade into the practises of other nations, and we should plainely discernie that

martiall discipline hath bene a chiefe cause of the raising of kingdoms (as the neglect thereof is of their subversion). Let us examine howe the Romanes became conquerors of the worlde, & wee shall discerne, that they had their legions as well at home as abroad, and those at home were not kept idle; for those souldiers (as I have read) w^{ch} were (by reason of age or infirmitie) past the service of warre in forraine countries, taught and trained up the rest: that there were few (or none) amonge them, w^{ch} were not as fitt to be generalls of whole armies as comon souldiers! Some men of our age, (whose valor & discretions are confined to nothing more then vanitie,) will not much doubt to saie, that they regard not much the practise of trayninge, and it requireth much cost to litle purpose. If it be so, then a man would thinke, that the great Turke, whose vast and huge dominions reache over the third pt of the worlde, would reject it; and by the same reason, if hee had our fortresses & imperiall castles, hee would sell the leades, the iron, and the stones thereof, and why? because being such a great Prince, who dare assaile him? Well, (some may thinke thus, but) give mee leave wth patience to write what I have read (of the trayning up of their youth there), and make yo^r owne believe.

The great Turke hath Christians inhabiting in many partes of his dominions, some whereof paie him a pecuniarie tribute, and others pay him tribute of their children, w^{ch} children are brought yearely (by officers appointed for that purpose) to the Arsenall (or palace) of the great Turke, and some of them are appointed to attend upon the Janisaries, the rest are sent into a place called (as I remember) *Ætolia*, and there they are taught plowing, sowing, making of haie, and such other husbandrie, as the countrie useth; then, after they have remained a certain tyme, they are againe committed to other maisters, who teach them to make engines for warre, &c. and instruct them in the use of armes; and so (in tyme & by degrees) they themselves come to be Janisaries, when any of them die, or are removed to higher places. And here I may relate (by the waie),

that no man can arise to preferment there (through monies or freinde), except their owne excellent vertues or qualities meritt the same. And when any of these Janisaries waxe ould & past service, they are made governo^r of fortresses, and have great allowance for the same. The rest of the captive children, (w^{ch} are of a more rude and indocile capacitie,) are kept still in the Ætolia, and do follow the exercise of husbandrie; except that in the tyme of warres, two or three thousand of them are appointed to attend upon the armie, to make haie, keepe horses, &c. From whence I collect these foure observa^{ti}ons: first, they traine up their youth in husbandrie, (wthout w^{ch} no com^on wealth can be maintayned); secondlie, in martiall affaires, and other artes (that they maie not onely preserve their com^on-wealth in peace & plentie, but also augment it); thirdly, they have especiall regard, that vertues be rewarded, and it is like by the same reason, that they punish vices; and lastlie, they fortifie their strong houldes wth men and munition, not onely for the strength & safetie of their countries, but also to the terror, amasement, & confusion of their enemies. Thus wee see, that the greater their dominions are, they use the greater care! w^{ch} is altogether contrarie to the practise of our tymes; and yet such is the simplicitie of many of us, that wee would be called and accounted statesmen, politicians, and fathers of our countrie, *quando omni scelere patriam laceramus, et in ea funditus delenda omnino occupati sumus*, as Cicero saith, when our actions tend (by all likelyhoode) to the subversion thereof. From considera^{ti}on of the premises, give mee leave to draw this conclusion, that martiall discipline, (next to God^e service) is the firmest staffe of a weale publiq, and the neglect thereof giveth a fearefull demonstra^{ti}on of future miseries to that kingdome, w^{ch} is insensible (and perceiveth not) that it is ordained as a good meanes to p^rserve God^e children, and Christian Com^onweales.

IV. ABUSE.

The want of this martiall discipline, and the (too much) abundance of idleness (and other vanities) hath so distracted, & pulled awaie, the affections of our countrymen from the ancient British worth and valoure, that you would not saie that they were of the same ofspringe; yet, were our alehouses (alias Hell-houses) divided into foure parts, and three of them (together wth all the remnants of devill-wort, alias Tobacco, and other open & knowne offences wherein wee live) sent into Tartary, to y^{eir} first father and founder, wee might hope (through submisse acknowledgment, & carefull amendment of our errorrs) that God would be mercyfull unto us, and grant us (not onely wisdom to foresee, but) valour to resist all the malicious devises of our enemies. But (foole that I am) why doe I write thus simply? It is in a manner (even) impossible to number the ale-houses of this Countie; for the one halfe of every towne is alehouses, and then upon every corner of a common or moore there must be one at least, to entertaine shepestealers, &c. otherwise the poore wandring raskalls might starve (or give over their traide) for defect of receipto^r. It is much to be lamented, y^t our worth Justices of the peace will not provide some goode meanes to roote out thre pts of them, considering how many gallant gentlemen & yeomen have shipwrackt their best fortunes, and split their whole estates, upon the rockes of Drunken-nes; yet I denaie not, but that there might be good use of them, if onely men & women of good estimaçõn and honest demeano^r were licenced (& yet but a few of them neither, one or two in a towne, &c.). But, alas! every one, cut and longtaile, man & woman, honest & vicious (I might saie, rogue and —), if they can procure money to buy lycences, may be pmitted to keepe tipling houses, and to sell their ale at xx^d the gallon, or keepe what measures they will. And although in many licences I have sene

them prohibited to vent or sell any Tobacco, yet now nothing is halfe so common; for the first salutaçôn (after a man sittes downe in an alehouse) is, Sir, will you taist a pipe of excellent & rare devill-wort (Tobacco I should saie)? and now every tinker, rogue, scavenger, or hangman is a Tobacconist. Nay, if such base mettall'd villaines were onely the professo^re and practisers of such illiberall sciences, it were a happie thinge; a rope & three trees might presentlie purge a whole countrie of such a pestilence; but it seemes, that these base scoundrelles are but the apes to their betters. Hath never a man seene those lips (and sacred mouthes, out of w^{ch} the oracles of God should proceede) dishonoured (I might say, polluted) wth the filthie smoake of Tobacco on the very Lords day? yes! *ad confirmandam memoriam*, to strengthen the memorie! Well, let it be so; yet I am of a firme opinion (and know ptly by experience), that it is many waies injurious to the breath, braine, sight, memorie, and the whole bodie of man. But (to proceede) can our countrie produce nev^r an officer, magistrate, or man of worth, who hath exclaimed against (and punished) the sinne of—— in oth^{rs}, and yet lived in it himselfe? No, some will saie, these are but meere skandalls, dispersed abroad by Papists and prophane p^{rs}ons; wee have nothing to doe wth them. I wish it were so, and I hope it is so; and this I must and will ingeuously confesse, in the commendaçôn of the gentlemen of this Countie, that no Countie of England (in myne opinion) can excell them in chaistitye; and I much rejoyce to heare (& know) it, for lamentable experience manifesteth, that incontinencie is a forerunner of the subversion of houses, kindred, & kingdoms. In the last place, wee must write something touching the abuses w^{ch} flowe from vanitie of appaile, for it is a sore w^{ch} ought to be touched, and I wish it were to be cured. Would ever any man have thought, that the valient English, (after so many glorious battailes & conquests in France,) should so farre forget themselves, as to turne French apes, and weare none other appaile but French? The Ile of Ree nev^r brought such a blessing to

England (that I can heare of), that we should weare nothing else, but what is worne there! I should rather thinke, that (although the late inhabitants thereof be verie laudable, for the firmer of their profession,) the wearing of such apparaile should renewe the remembrance of our losses, dishon^r, and repulse there, and should rather cause us to avoide the same (except wee rejoyce in publishing our own shame & vanitie). But this is not extraordinarylie to be wondred at, for wee are so disfigured by phantasticall and strange fashions, that wee can scarce know him to daie, with whome wee were acquainted yesterdaie. Some (you shall see in the very middest of winter) weare their dublett^e (cutt and slashed) in such sort, that they are of as small force to preserve (& kepe in) naturall heate, or hould out raine, as if one were altogether naked; others weare long side-breeches, wth descende from the waist to the ancles, as though they were to act Tarletons part in a plaie; and others (*laudo viros istos*) scorning the deformitie of paistboard-bellied dublett^e, side-sloppe, & the like, have attained (and almost brought home againe) the verie true habite of naturall simplicitie and true idiots, covering their whole bulke, *a capite ad talos*, from heade to heeles, wth long side-coates, such as was the noble^a Archie's, our late Sovereignes Jester (save that his was of velvett, and theirs are of cloth). Nay, they are so prettylie and exactly adorned wth cotton linings, that if they had sutable caps, and belles correspondent, they might freely (for their outsides) go currant amongst the honest number of cockescombes and fooles; but if any should impose upon us such apish and strange fashions, wee should esteeme our selves verie miserable. Howsoever (I would not be misunderstood), I do not altogether reprehend the use (but the vanitie and inconstancie) of our strange attires. Wee are in the aforenoone, in this suite; in the afternoone, in another; and at night, in the third; and padventure all thre are of severall fashions. Thus (for the most pt) wee waist our wealth, tyme, and best thoughtes, (which should be employed upon nedefull and holie affaires,) in consulting

^a Archibald
Armestrange.

upon newfanglenes, vanities, and fopperies. But lett us passe from the men (I would to God we had no worse faults then vanitie in clothes!) and looke upon our women; it may be, that they'l make amende for the imperfections of men. No, no, (believe it) they are worse imployed, more disguised, and transcend men (in vanities of this sort), as farre as the brightnes of the sunne excedes a little starre. For peradventure yo^u shall scarce finde twenty men in this whole kingdome, w^{ch} use painting, perfuming, pouldering, night-masks (to holde up their mustachioes, &c.), or the like effeminate fooleries; but many (yea, very many) women use all these, painting of faces, lippes, neckes, breasts, &c. false haire, false teeth, false hearts, and false every thing. And when one of our ladyes or gentlewomen (of the vainer sort) walke abroad, or to the church, oh! in what pompe & state, and how demurely they passe alonge! A man (w^{ch} had never sene them ere then) would thinke they were ladies of the fairie (as in some respect many of them are), or comedians, readie to act the pt of beautifull Lais, the Corinthian —, in the holy church. Verylie, it is worth the sight of a hundred puppett plaies to view but some of our spruce & fantastique gentlewomen of the lowest ranke. I must confesse they are pinched for silkes, velvetts, cloth of gold, &c. because their meanes denay the use of them; but it would make one to admire (if he note but seriouslie), how excellentlie they are painted, pfumed, hung wth railes, ribbons, laces, feathers, bracelette, and a whole pedlers shop of other toyes, trinkett and gewgawes. There is (now I thinke) very few men of understanding who will approve of these things. But if this were the worst, I should thinke all were reasonable well. A man or woman may have a sanctified heart, albeit their appaile be a litle out of square; but alas! it is to be feared (w^{ch} one would thinke impossible), that these externall ragges are better then their inner sides, and that (although their bodies are decked, and their gestures adapted & framed to appeare amiable onely to their husband, yet) they are not onely vainglorious of worldlie applause, but also desirous (and

delighted) to captivate mens affections wth their beauties, and drowne the small sparkes & remnant^e of vertue, w^{ch} are left in them. Yet (as I wrote before), farre be it from mee to wronge them in the least respect, or to conclude against their whole sex for the error^s of a few. Some (I grant) use their apparaile for ostenta^{ti}on, to intrap their spectato^re, and (like so many Lamiaes) to consume them in bodie & estate; but others (who shine as much in all virtues, as the others are clouded or darkened over wth vices) in the excercises and demonstra^{ti}ons of their inward graces & high discents, weare such ornaments, as do rightlie become them; and these I will honor alwaies, as being by their due deserts most worthie, and most noble, and doubling every vertue by their religious behaviour and incomparable decencie. The conclusion w^{ch} I woulde inferre from hence is, that every degree of men ought to be like themselves: English men & women ought to be distinguished from other nations; the French should be like themselves; the Spanyards like themselves; noble men & women like themselves; ecclesiasticall men & women like themselves; & all other degrees & rankes of people like themselves; that the outward apparaile might plainly distinguish (and manifest) the degree of the wearer. But for every poore gentlewoman of twenty markes (or curates wife of ten pound^e) a yeare, to goe in their jingle jangles and trinketts like so many ladies, is a thing so undecent, that I cannot overpasse it wth silence. And (for mine owne part) I am so farre from approving of any forraine habite, that I hold the English man p^{ar}tlie dishonoured, which shroudes his bodie in the fashion of any other nation then his owne; seing that our owne countrey & countrey-men are equall (and not inferiour) to any nation or people of the world, if our inward pietie be correspondent to the outward p^{er}fection of our bodies. And thus (as Almighty God, and my small learning, observa^{ti}on, and experience) hath enabled mee, I have briefly related some of those things, which I conceive to be amisse in the estate of my countrie; humblie referring the considera^{ti}on and reforma^{ti}on thereof to yo^r good Wor^{sh}ps wisdom^e & care, and

praying yo^r good Wor^p to grant your favourable pardon of the simplicities, mistakings, and erro^re w^{ch} I have committed in this whole Discourse. In hope and expecta^{co}n of which (yo^r Wor^{ps}) great clemencie, rendring infinite thankes and praises to Almighty God, for his great mercies shewed upon us, in sparing us so fatherly, & affording (not onely the use of earthly blessings, but also) a blessed tyme of repentance to us; and beseeching also his Almighty Matie to plant in our hearts an unfained love of true holynes, & detesta^{co}n of all sinnes & wickednes, and that it will please Him to blesse and p^rserve our noble King, gracious Queene, the Lorde spirituall & temporall, this whole kingdome, and the inhabitants thereof, from the craftes, powers, & pollicies of all sinister enemies, I humbly take leave, & rest. Dec. 26^o 1629.

SANCTISSIMÆ TRINITATI GLORIA.

NOTES.

Page 5, line 6. *Waste of woodes.* As these complaints are addressed to the Dean of Durham, it is worthy notice that, scarcely more than twelve years previous, a charge was made against the Prebendaries of Durham for having themselves committed "great waste in divers woods" belonging to the See, and especially in "Muggleswick, the goodliest wood in the north of England." (See Hutchinson's "History of Durham," 4to. 1787, vol. i. p. 154, *n.*)

P. 6, line 32. *A nobleman.* It is possible that William Lord Eure, the owner of Wotton Park, is here alluded to.

P. 7, line 2. *Brancepeth parke.* The Castle and Park of Brancepeth belonged to the Nevilles of Raby until 1570, when, by the attainder of Charles Earl of Westmoreland, it came into the hands of the Crown, and in the reign of James I. was assigned, with Raby Castle and other estates in the county of Durham, to the use of Charles, Prince of Wales, and by his lessees was sold in 1633 to Lady Middleton and others. Hutchinson, vol. iii. p. 314, and "Memoirs of the Rebellion of 1569," by Sir Cuthbert Sharp, 8vo. 1840, p. 416.

Line 12. *Springing.* Here seems to mean the growth of trees from seed, as acorns, &c. In a report on the waste and spoils committed in Raby Park, addressed by Sir Charles Wren, constable of the castle, to the Lord Treasurer Salisbury, in 1608, it is stated, "there was also a newe *spring* of woodes made by the said Commissioners [for preservation of woods], which Hutton, as keeper, ought to maynteyne with sufficient fence, but doth suffer it to be spoyled with cattell," &c. (MS. Lansdowne 166, fol. 299.)

P. 9, line 9. *One man, &c.* I have endeavoured in vain to identify this individual.

P. 11, line 31. *Apologie.* It is in the "Mythologia Æsopica," edited by Nevelet, p. 268, Frankfort, 1610, 12mo.; from which edition the writer of this tract seems to have the fable.

P. 12, line 16. *Rabie Castle.* The notice given of the demolition of part of Raby Castle is interesting, but it is uncertain who is "the *owner*" here alluded to. This castle, like Brancepeth, was forfeited to the Crown by the treason of the Earl of Westmoreland in 1570, and in 1613 was granted, together with Brancepeth, to Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset; but, after a brief possession, reverted to the Crown, and in 1629 was sold to Sir Harry Vane the elder (afterwards Secretary of State), ancestor of the Earls of Darlington. (Memorials of the Rebellion of 1569, p. 88.)

P. 13, line 12. *Bishop of Lincoln.* The writer refers to Camden, but neither in his "Britannia" nor "Remains" do I find such a statement. Bishop Alexander was a Norman, brother to Roger Bishop of Salisbury, and was consecrated in July, 1123. Willis mentions only *three* castles built by him, namely, Banbury, Sleaford, and Newark; and three monasteries, namely, Haverholm, co. Linc., Dorchester, and Tame, co. Oxon, to which Tanner adds Louth, co. Linc. and a hospital at Newark, co. Nott. This munificent prelate died in 1147.

Line 20. *Which shall.* There is some obscurity in this paragraph, arising from the omission of a word or two.

Line 25. *Catalogue of Castles.* Among the castles here mentioned, Hornby, in Lancashire, belonged in 1629 to Henry Parker, Lord Monteagle, and descended to him from the Stanleys, Lords Monteagle; Kendal, in Westmoreland, appertained to the Lords Parr, of Kendal, and in the reign of Elizabeth having become vested in the Crown, a survey was taken in 1572, in which the castle is said to be "all in decay" (Hutchinson, vol. i. p. 46); Appleby, in Westmoreland (ruinous in the time of Leland), and Skipton, in Yorkshire, formed a portion of the large estates of Lady Anne Clifford (heiress of George Earl of Cumberland), whose daughter married John Earl of Thanet; Kirkoswald, in Cumberland, was in possession of Richard Lennard, thirteenth Lord Dacre, who died in 1630; Raby and Brancepeth have been previously noticed; Dunstanburgh, in Northumberland, was granted by James I. in 1625 to Sir William Grey, then recently created Baron of Warke, to whom also Chillingham, in the same county, belonged; Bewick, in Northumberland, was vested in the Crown (Hodgson, vol. ii. pl. 3, p. 209); Bamburgh (or Bamberough), in the same county, was granted by James I. to John Foster; Witton, in Durham (as I conclude, although there is another Witton Castle in Northumberland), belonged to William Lord Eure, but was purchased by the Darcy family, and in the time of the Civil War was in the hands of Sir William Darcy (Hutchinson, vol. iii. p. 304); and Hornby, in the north riding of Yorkshire, came from the Conyers (the first Lord of which name, as Leland tells us, "dyd great coste on it,") by marriage of the co-heiress to Thomas Darcy, whose son, Sir Conyers Darcy, was created Baron Darcy in 1646.

P. 16, line 14. *Apologer.* This fable is found in the collection of Abstemius, p. 547, ed. Nevelet, 1610.

P. 17, line 7. *Drabbing, gullyng.* So in Shakspeare, "Hamlet," act ii. sc. 1:—

King.

As gaming, my Lord.

Polonius. Ay, or drinking, fencing, swearing, quarrelling,

Drabbing.

The meaning is obvious, from *drab*, a loose woman. *Gullyng* signifies indulging in gluttony, from *gula*. Thomas Wright, in "The Passions of the Minde," p. 139, ed. 1604, says, "Vices are plagues, and vicious persons infected; therefore it were good to deale with them afarre off, and not in such places where their vices are strongest, as with *gullers* in banquets, drunkards in tavernes," &c. And in another passage, "Such men, in the heat of their *gullyng* feasts, overshoot themselves extreamely," &c. (p. 129.)

P. 17, Line 20. *out of square*. Out of rule or compass ; a phrase repeated at p. 25.

Line 22. *publique fast*. The Proclamation for this fast was issued on the 14th February, 1628, and is extant, among other proclamations of this reign, in the library of the British Museum. The cause in the preamble is stated to be, "the present estate of the affaires of Christendome, and the deplorable condition of those who professe the true reformed religion." A Form of Prayer was directed to be composed and printed on the occasion, and the Fast to be religiously observed on the 18th February, in the Cities of London and Westminster and places adjacent, and on the 2d March throughout the rest of the realm of England and dominion of Wales.

Line 31. *Ilanders of Ree*. In allusion to the disastrous expedition of the Duke of Buckingham in June, 1627. (See p. 23.)

P. 18, line 8. *Apologer*. In the "Mythologia Æsopica," p. 188.

P. 19, line 22. *Sir Raphe Asheton*. Of Great Lever and Whalley, in Lancashire. He served the office of Sheriff in 1579, 1594, and 1624, and was created Baronet in 1620. His name often occurs in the proceedings of the Lieutenancy for that county. (See MS. Harl. 1926, and Baines, "Hist. of Lancaster," vol. i. p. 206.)

P. 21, line 20. *martiall discipline*. So also Sir Francis Knolles, in the Preface to his "History of the Turks," 1638, comparing the military power of the Turks with the Christian soldiers, calls the latter "for the most part, untrained men, and in no respect to be compared with the Turks Janizaries, . . . not to speake, in the meane time, of the want of the ancient *martiall discipline*, the wholesome preservation of most puissant armies."

P. 22, line 15. *ale-houses*. The amount of fines paid by the County of Durham for licenses for ale-houses in 1609, amounted to £82. 16s. (MS. Lansdowne 166, fol. 250^b.)

Line 26. *cut and long taile*. Of every sort and condition. The phrase is used by Shakspeare in "The Merry Wives of Windsor," act iii. sc. 4.

P. 23, line 1. *to vent*. To vend, sell. (Ash's Dictionary.)

Line 7. *three-trees*. A cant term for the gallows.

Line 32. *French apes*. This tendency to imitate the fashions of the Continent is alluded to by several earlier and later writers. Thus, in "The Letting of Humours blood in the Head-vaine," by S. R. [Samuel Rowlands], he writes,—

Fashions is still consort with new fond shapes,
And feedeth dayly upon strange disguise;
We shew our selves the imitating apes
Of all the toyes that strangers heades devise :
For ther's no habite of hell-hatched sinne
That we delight not to be clothed in.

And Thomas Wright, in "The Passions of the Minde," 1604, p. 136, says of variety of apparel, "And truly the Frenchmen and Englishmen, of all nations, are (not without some good cause) noted and condemned of this lightnesse, the one for inventing, the other for imitating; in other things we thinke them our inferiors, and herein we make them our maisters. And some I have heard very contemptuously say, that scarcely a new forme of

breeches appeared in the French King's kitchen, but they were presently translated over into the Court of England." In a tract by Henry Peacham, intitled, "The Truth of our Times revealed out of one Man's Experience," printed in 1638, 12mo., are some curious remarks on the changes and caprices of fashion in England, which, as they have not been quoted by our recent writers on costume, I may be excused for citing here at length. He writes, p. 73, "I have much wondered why our English, above all other nations, should so much doat upon new fashions, but more I wonder at our want of wit, that wee cannot invent them ourselves, but, when one is growne stale, runne presently over into France, to seeke a new; making that noble and flourishing kingdome the magazine of our fooleries: and for this purpose many of our tailors lye leger there, and ladies post over their gentlemen ushers to, accoutre them and themselves, as you see. Hence come your slashed doublets (as if the wearers were cut out to be carbonado'd upon the coales), and your halfe shirtes, pickadillies (now out of request), your long breeches, narrow towards the knees, like a payre of smith's bellowes, the spangled garters pendant to the shooe, your perfumed perrukes or perriwigs, to shew us that lost haire may bee had againe for money; with a thousand such fooleries, unknowne to our manly forefathers." And again, p. 63, —"Now this thing we call the Fashion, so much hunted and pursued after (like a thiefe with an hue and cry) that our taylors dog it into France, even to the very doore. It reignes commonly like an epidemically disease, first infecting the court, then the city, after the country; from the countesse to the chambriere, who, rather than shee will want her curled lockes, will turne them up with a hot paire of tongs, instead of the irons. The fashion (like an higher orbe) hath the revolution commonly every hundred yeare, when the same comes into request againe; whiche I saw once in Antwerpe handsomely described by an hee and shee foole turning a wheele about, with hats, hose, and doublets in the fashion fastned round about it; which, when they were below, began to mount up againe as we see them. For example, in the time of King Henry the 7, the slashed doublets, now used, were in request; only the coats of the King's Guard keepe the same form they did since they were first given them by the said king. After that, the Flemish fashion, in the time of King Henry the 8 came in request, of straight doublets, huge breeches let out with puffs, and codpieces. In Queene Marie's time the Spanish was much in use. In Queene Elizabeth's time were the great bellied doublets, wide sawcy sleeves, that would be in every dish before their master, and buttons as big as tablemen, or the lesser sort of Sandwich turnips; with huge ruffles that stood like cart-wheels about their neckes, and round breeches, not much unlike Saint Omer's onions, whereto the long stocking, without garters, was joyned, which then was the Earle of Leicester's fashion, and theirs who had the handsomest legges. The women wore strait bodied gowns, with narrow sleeves, drawne out with lawne or fine cambricke, in puffs, with high bolstered wings, little ruffles edged with gold or blacke silke; and maides wore cawles of gold, now quite out of use. Chaines of gold were then of Lordes, Knights, and Gentlemen commonly worne, but a chaine of gold now (to so high a rate gold is raised) is as much as some of them are worth. The like variety hath been in hats, which have beene but of late yeares. Henry the 6 is commonly pourtrayed with a hood on his head, such as

the liveries of the city weare on their shoulders. Henry the 6, the 7, and 8, wore only caps. King Philip, in England, wore commonly a somewhat high velvet cap, with a white feather. After came in hats of all fashions, some with crowns so high, that beholding them farre off, you would have thought you had discovered the Teneriffe; those close to the head, like barbers basons, with narrow brimmes, wee were at that time beholden to Cadiz, in Spaine, for. After them, came up those with square crownes, and brimmes almost as broad as a brewer's mash-fat, or a reasonable upper ston of a mustard querne.—No lesse variety hath bin in hat-bands, the cipresse being now quite out of use, save among some of the graver sort." And, in p. 61, "The plainnesse of our English Kings in former times hath bene very remarkable. King Henry the 8 was the first that ever ware a band about his neck, and that very plaine, without lace, and about an inch or two in depth. Wee may see how the case is altered; hee is not a gentleman, nor in the fashion, whose bands of Italian cut-work now standeth him not at the least in three or foure poundes. Yea, a semster, in Holborne, told mee that there are of three score pound price a piece; and shoo-tyes, that goe under the name of Roses, from thirty shillings to three, foure, and five poundes the paire. Yea, a gallant of the time, not long since, payd thirty pounds for a paire. I would have had him by himselfe to have eaten that dish of buttered egges prepared with muske and ambergrise, which cost thirty and five poundes, and when his belly had bene full, to have laid him to sleep upon my Lady N. bed, whose furniture cost her Ladiship five hundred and three score poundes."

In "The Present State of England," by Walter Carey, printed in 1627 (reprinted in the "Harleian Miscellany," vol. iii. p. 197, ed. 1745), the above statement as to the "excessive abuse in apparel," is confirmed in the following curious passages: "I saw a compleat Gentleman of late, whose beaver Hat cost thirty-seven shillings, a Feather twenty shillings, the Hatband three pounds, and his ten-double Ruff four pounds; thus the head and neck only were furnished, and that but of one suit, for nine pounds, seventeen shillings. Now taking the proportion of the bravery for the rest of the body, the Cloke lined with velvet, daubed over with gold lace two fingers broad; the satin Doublets and Hose in like sort decked; the silk Stockings, with costly Garters hanging down to the snall of the leg; the Spanish shoes, with glittering Roses; the Girdle and Stiletto: I leave it to those that therein know more than I, and can speak of greater bravery, to cast up the total sum. But, on the contrary, I observed that sixty years since, generally a man full as good or better in ability than this compleat lusty looking lad, whose Hat and Band cost but five shillings, and his Ruff but twelve pence at most.—I will not forget, but touch a little the foolish and costly fashion of changing fashions, noted especially and objected against our English nation, and in one thing only (I mean the Hat) I will express our prodigious folly in all the rest. Of late the broad-brimmed Hat came suddenly in fashion, and put all others out of countenance and request, and happy were they that could get them soonest and be first seen in that fashion, so that, a computation being made, there is at least three hundred thousand pounds, or much more, in England only, bestowed in broad-brimmed Hats, within one year and an half. As for others, either Beaver or Felts, they were on the sudden of no reckoning at

all; insomuch that myself (still continuing one fashion) bought a Beaver Hat for five shillings, which the year before could not be had under thirty shillings. The like, or more, may be said of the change from plain to double Ruffs."

Page 24, line 14. *Side-breeches, as though they were to act Tarleton's part in a plaie.* The dress of this actor, who was famous for playing the part of the clown (or boor) at the Red Bull theatre, is here alluded to. Wright, in "The Passions of the Minde," 1601 (a passage quoted by Fairholt, p. 271, but not in the edition of 1604), says, "Sometimes I have seen Tarleton play the clowne, and use no other breeches than such sloppes or slivings as now many gentlemen weare; they are almost capable of a bushel of wheate." And again, in Rowland's "Letting of Humours blood in the Head-vaine," 1600, epigr. 30,

When Tarlton clown'd it in a pleasant vaine,

Clownes knew the Clowne by his *great clownish slop*;

But now th'are gull'd, for present fashion sayes

Dicke Tarlton's part gentlemen's breeches plaies.

Tarlton died in September, 1588 (Collier, "Annals of the Stage," vol. ii. p. 351). *Side-breeches* and *side-slopps* mean the same thing; and *side* here means *long*, as rightly explained by Nares. In the Harleian MS. 3885, containing specimens of Calligraphy executed by John Scottowe, in the reign of Elizabeth, there is (at fol. 19) a figure of Tarlton, introduced playing on the pipe and tabor (of which a reduced copy is given by Fairholt, "History of Costume," p. 269), with the following verses annexed:—

The picture here set down

within this letter T,

Aright doth shew the forme & shap
of *Tarlton* unto the.

When hee in pleasaunt wise

the Counterfet expreste

Of Clowne, w^t cote of russet hew,

and sturtups w^t y^e reste.

Whoe merry many made,

when he appeard in sight,

The grave and wise, as well as rude,

at him did take delight.

The partie nowe is gone,

and closlie clad in claye;

Of all the Jesters in the lande,

he bare the praise awaie.

Now hath he plaid his parte,

and sure he is of this,

If he in Christe did die, to live

with him in lasting blis.

In this drawing he is represented wearing the long breeches coming down to the ankle, noticed in the text. Another copy of this portrait of Tarlton, on a smaller scale, is inserted in a MS. among Rawlinson's Collection in the Bodleian Library, containing Penmanship by John Davies, of Hereford, and his scholars. The following verses accompany it (fol. 19):—

Tarlton beholde, that played the Contreye Clowne,
None lyke to him, in Citie, Courte, or Towne;
His clownish grace, his gesture, and his porte,
Did much delight the best and meanest sorte.
I greatlie doubt that I shall never see
One counterfeate the Clowne so well as hee.

A third copy of this portrait is preserved in the Pepysian Library, Magdalen College, Cambridge, from which it was engraved (apparently, not very accurately) in Harding's "Biographical Mirror," 1795, vol. i.

Page 24, line 20. *Side-coates, such as was the noble Archie's, &c.* This coat of the Court Jester is noticed also by Ben Jonson in the "Staple of Newes," act iii. sc. 1. (first printed in 1625.)

. a cabal
Found out but lately, and set out by *Archie*,
Or some such head, of whose *long coat* they have heard,
And being black, desire it.

See Gifford's note, p. 242. In the Add. MS. 5750, fol. 30, in the British Museum, is preserved the original warrant for the crimson velvet coat, laced with gold, of Archibald Armstrong, at the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth, in February, 1612-13. See the *Archæologia*, vol. xxvi. p. 392.

Page 25, line 21. *Denay*; deny. Used by Shakspere, 2 Henry VI., act i. sc. 3.

Line 23. *Hung with railles*. A *rail* is explained by Nares and Fairholt to mean a *cloak* or *loose gown*; but this is erroneous. It is evident, from the quotations given from Palsgrave and Florio in Halliwell's Dictionary, that the *rail* was a sort of tippet or collar, made of fine linen, which might be edged with gold or other material. In Baret's "Alvearie," 1572, *rail* is rendered *amictorium*, and is considered synonymous with "neckcloth, kerchief, or partlet."

Page 26, line 6. *Lamiaes*. An allusion borrowed from classical mythology,

Neu prausse Lamiaë vivum puerum extrahat alvo.

Horat. de Arte Poet. v. 340.

In Florio's "Queen Anna's New World of Words," ed. 1611, p. 275, we find under the word "*Lamia*.—Also women that were thought to have such eyes as they could at their pleasure pull out and put in againe, or, as some describe them, certaine divels in a counterfeited shape, that with flatterings allured faire yong springals or boyes, and taking upon them the likenesse and fashion of women, were thought to devoure them and bring them to destruction. Some thought them to be Ladies of the Fairies (see p. 25, line 16), or such as make children affraid, or such witches as sucke children's blood and kill them."



INVENTORIES

OF

THE WARDROBES, PLATE, CHAPEL STUFF, ETC.

OF

HENRY FITZROY, DUKE OF RICHMOND,

AND OF

THE WARDROBE STUFF AT BAYNARD'S CASTLE

OF

KATHARINE, PRINCESS DOWAGER.

EDITED, WITH A

MEMOIR AND LETTERS OF THE DUKE OF RICHMOND,

BY JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, F.S.A.

PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.LV.

PREFACE.

THE two following documents tend to illustrate the domestic history of the English court and royal family at a period of external state and magnificence which has never been surpassed, and when the gratification of personal expenditure was scarcely limited or restrained by any considerations of financial economy. The same love of pomp and splendour actuated both monarch and minister when Henry sat at the prow, and Wolsey at the helm. These were the days of the Field of Cloth of Gold; and when the taste of Holbein and other accomplished artists was exercised in making designs for arms and armour, for jewellery, and domestic furniture.

Of such matters a brief glimpse will be afforded by the present Inventories, to which the Editor has ventured to draw the attention of the Camden Society, with the view of making a contribution to the materials of the third volume of their Miscellany.

It would, however, be a great omission to neglect the present opportunity to state that ample materials exist for the fuller illustration of the art-treasures of the sixteenth century, contained in three ponderous leiger-books which still commemorate all the vast accumulation of personal property which belonged to the Crown at the death of Henry VIII.

Two of these are classed together under No. 1419 of the Harleian Collection of manuscripts: in which the furniture preserved in all the royal palaces or other store-houses at the death of Henry VIII. is circumstantially described.

The third, a corresponding, volume is now in the library of the Society of Antiquaries of London (MSS. No. 129), to which it was presented by Gustavus Brander, esq. It contains an equally particular "Inventory of the Juelles, Plate, Stuff, Ordenaunce, Munition, and other goods belonging to our late Sovereign Lord King Henry theight," with some other accompts during the early years of his successor.

Among the very valuable manuscript collections, especially in relation to this period (the spoils of the cabinets of Wolsey and Cromwell), which have been removed from the Chapter House at Westminster to the custody of the Master of the Rolls (and are now deposited in the new Record Office in Chancery Lane), are three* volumes (A. v. 16, 17, 18) of "The Kyngis boke of Paymentes," extending from 21 Hen. VII. to 12 Hen. VIII. The expenses of the first four years of Henry VIII. (a modern transcript in the MS. Addit. Brit. Mus. 7100) are derived from this source.

It will be remembered that the late Sir Harris Nicolas edited in 1827, in 8vo., *The Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII. from Nov. 1529 to Dec. 1532*. The original MS. of these accompts belonged to Mr. Pickering the publisher, and at the recent sale of his property was purchased for the British Museum, where it is now the Additional MS. 20,030.

A volume of the king's privy-purse expenses from 1510 to 1518

* Sir N. H. Nicolas, in his preface to the *Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII.* mentions a fourth corresponding volume called *A Book of Arrears of the 14th Henry VIII., 1522-3*; but this does not now accompany the others, with which it was probably unconnected. There is, at the Rolls, a volume of that date (14 Hen. VIII.), being a book of Sir Henry Wyat, treasurer of the King's chamber, of money paid into his hands by the treasurers of the several shires (A. v. 21).

is now in the possession of H. B. Ray, Esq. ;* and a household book of Henry VIII. extending from Sept. 1543 to Oct. 1544, is in the collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart. at Middle Hill.†

A book of payments of the treasurer of the household from 29 to 33 Hen. VIII. is in the Arundel MSS. at the British Museum, No. 97.

A wardrobe book of 3 Hen. VIII. is also extant.‡

A warrant for the payment of a long Wardrobe account, dated 28th June, 27 Henry VIII. (1535) was communicated from the Augmentation Office by Mr. Caley to the Society of Antiquaries, and is printed in the *Archæologia*, vol. ix. pp. 244—252.

In the Rolls Record Office (A. vi. 22) is an account of the Jewel House, 24 Hen. VIII. (1532).

Sir Frederick Madden edited, in 1831, the Privy Purse Accounts of the Princess Mary, extending from Dec. 1536 (with some intermission) to the end of 1542.§ These were derived from the Royal

* From Mr. Craven Ord's sale 1830, lot 1019.

† From Mr. Craven Ord's sale 1829, lot 550. See the *Archæologia*, vol. xxiii. p. 346.

‡ Craven Ord's sale 1829, lot 549, bought by Thorpe. In the sale of 1830 was also, lot 977, Wardrobe at Windsor, temp. Hen. VIII.

§ Of a somewhat earlier period is the Privy Purse Book of Queen Elizabeth of York, edited, with a Wardrobe Account of King Edward IV., by Sir N. H. Nicolas, in 1830.

Extracts from the Household Book of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, of the 23 Hen. VII. 1507, were edited by Mr. Gage in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxv. pp. 311-341.

The Household accounts of the Lestranges of Hunstanton in Norfolk, extending from 1519 to 1578, are published in the same collection, vol. xxv. pp. 411-569; and those of Lord North, from 1575 to 1579, in vol. xix. pp. 283-301.

Inventories of the property of the Duke of Norfolk and his son the Earl of Surrey, which were seized by the crown in the last year of Henry VIII. are printed in the Appendix to Dr. Nott's *Life of Surrey*, from documents in H. M. office of Land Revenue.

Of some other domestic inventories of the nobility and gentry I have given a brief catalogue in the Introduction to two "Unton Inventories" which I edited in 1841 for the short-lived Berkshire Ashmolean Society.

For the system of government by which such large establishments were maintained reference may be made to the volume of Household Ordinances published by the Society of Antiquaries in 1790, which contains, in pp. 135-260, the Royal Ordinances made at

MS. in the British Museum, 17 B. XXVIII. There are other accompts of the Princess Mary's expenses among the Rolls records ; viz., of the 12 and 13 Hen. VIII. (A. II. 22), and of the 15 Hen. VIII. (A. I. 4).

The Privy-purse accompts of Cardinal Wolsey, which are printed in Gutch's *Collectanea Curiosa*, 1781, 8vo., form a further very valuable illustration to the history of this period.

The wealth of those days was often accumulated in "costly apparel" and domestic furniture, in spite of moth and rust, instead of being laid out upon what would now be considered more productive investments. Like "old Signior Gremio," in Shakspeare's *Taming of the Shrew*, there was many a man of substance who was prepared to boast, that

" my house within the city
Is richly furnished with Plate and Gold ;
Basons and ewers to lave her dainty hands ;
My Hangings all of Tyrian tapestry ;
In ivory coffers I have stuff'd my crowns,
In Cypress chests my Arras, counterpoints,
Costly apparel, tents, and canopies,
Fine linen, Turkey cushions bossed with pearl,
Valance of Venice gold in needle-work,
Pewter and brass, and all things that belong
To house, or housekeeping."

In the introductory Memoir of Henry FitzRoy, Duke of Rich-

Eltham in 1512, with various supplements added in subsequent years ; to the Northumberland Household Book, also dated 1512, which was edited by Dr. Percy, Bishop of Dromore, and reprinted by Pickering in 1827 ; to the Household Book of the Earl of Arundel, contained in the *Antiquarian Repertory*, 1808, vol. ii. pp. 184-209 ; and to that of Anthony Viscount Montagu, in 1595, recently edited by Sir Sibbald David Scott in the seventh volume of the *Sussex Archæological Collections*.

Among the MSS. of the Royal Society, No. 61 contains Orders for the royal household in 9 Hen. VIII.

mond, I have collected together, from various quarters, every available evidence that tended to illustrate his history : and I have found these materials much more ample than, from the scanty notices that had hitherto appeared respecting him, I could have anticipated. It is remarkable, however, that they are less satisfactory for the latter than the earlier years of his life. This circumstance is probably accidental, as from all we know he appears to have continued to occupy a large place in the affection of his royal father, who at that time had no other son. It is not stated where the bulk of the duke's moveable property was lying when the Inventory was taken; nor do we know which was his principal residence, after he left Sheriff Hutton and came southward. In the metropolis, after having for some years had a residence at Durham-place, in the Strand, he appears to have received a grant of the castellated mansion of Baynard's Castle;* but his death took place in St. James's Palace. At the time of his decease the principal furniture of his chapel, and other things, were at Tonges, by which name I believe to be implied a manor-house near Sittingbourn in Kent.† It was at Sittingbourn that the king received the news of his loss.‡

The Second Inventory describes certain property of Katharine of Arragon, remaining after her decease at Baynard's Castle,§ in the

* See hereafter, p. xvii., note.

† Hasted states that the manor of Tong, near Sittingbourn, on the death of Cecily duchess of York, 10 Hen. VII., came to the Crown, where it continued till Edward VI. granted it to sir Ralph Fane.—*History of Kent*, ii. 604.

‡ See page lxvii., note.

§ Baynard's Castle, situate on the Thames bank, near St. Paul's Cathedral, was one of the principal mansions in the city of London, and, until the palace of Bridewell was formed by Henry VIII. from the buildings of the monastery of Blackfriars, it probably ranked next in importance to the Tower of London. Many memorable events in our national history are connected with its name. During the reigns of Edward IV. and Richard III.

city of London. It includes some articles which had probably been part of the furniture of that mansion for many years before, when it was occupied by some of the family of the royal line of York. The hangings of Verdours, ensigned with the badge of the Falcon and Fetter-lock and that of the Rose and Sun, which are described in page 25, were evidently of the time of Edward IV.

The degraded queen, then designated as "Princess dowager" only, died at Kimbolton Castle * on the 8th Jan. 1536-7; and the present Inventory was taken five weeks after. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* (Dec. 1854, and May 1855), has recently been published a catalogue of the Plate which at the same period remained in the possession of the Queen: presenting, like the document now printed, an interesting record of her fallen fortunes.

Baynard's Castle was the town house of their mother the duchess of York. Soon after the present period it was leased to the Pembroke family; and it was from its walls that the privy councillors opposed to John Dudley, duke of Northumberland, proceeded into Cheapside to terminate the brief reign of Queen Jane, and proclaim the inauguration of that of Queen Mary.

* The following passage occurs at the close of Miss Strickland's *Life of Queen Katharine*:—"The chamber hung with tapestry, in which Katharine of Arragon expired, is to this day shown at Kimbolton Castle; the tapestry covers a little door leading to a closet still called by her name. One of her travelling portmanteaus has remained at Kimbolton ever since her sad removal from Bugden. It is covered with scarlet velvet, and the Queen's initials, K. R. with the regal crown, are conspicuous on the lid; there are two drawers beneath the trunk." Miss Strickland has not made acquaintance with the present Inventory.

BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR

OF

HENRY FITZROY, DUKE OF RICHMOND.

“ You shall understande, (writes the chronicler Hall,) the Kyng in his freshe youth was in the cheynes of love with a faire damosell called Elizabeth Blount, daughter to sir John Blount knight, whiche damosell in syngyng, daunsyng, and all goodly pastymes exceded all other, by the whiche goodly pastymes she wan the kinges harte: and she again shewed hym suche favour, that by hym she bare a goodly manne child, of beautie like to the father and mother. This child was well brought up, like a Prince's child, and when he was .vi. yere of age, the kyng made hym knight, and called hym lorde Henry FitzRoy, and on Sondaie the .xviii. daie of June, at the manor or place of Bridewelle, thesaied lorde ledde by twoo erles was created Erle of Notingham, and then he was brought backe again by thesaied twoo erles: then the dukes of Norffolke and Suffolke led hym into the great chambre again, and the kyng created hym Duke of Richmond and Somerset and at these creations were kept greate feastes and disguisynge.

“ After this the cardinall (Wolsey) toke upon him, as the kynges chief counsailer, to use a reformation in the ordre of the kinges housholde, wherein he made certain ordinaunces. He also made all newe officers in the house of the duke of Richmond, whiche was then newly begon.”*

Henry FitzRoy being six years of age when created duke of Richmond, his birth must have taken place in the year 1519. “ He was born (we are

* Hall's Union of York and Lancaster 1548, AAA .iiij. b.

told) in the manor place of Blackmore in Essex: it was the prior's house of Blackmore,"*—*i. e.* Blackmore, about seven miles from Chelmsford.

Of the personal history of his mother scarcely anything is known, beyond the facts of her parentage and her two marriages. With regard to the former, all our genealogists have been content to style her the daughter of sir John Blount, without identifying the branch of that wide-spreading family from which she was sprung. The epitaph of her first husband shews him to have been sir John Blount of Kynlet in Shropshire, and the pedigree of Blount of Kynlet describes her mother as having been Katharine, daughter and coheir of Hugh Peshall of Staffordshire. She had several brothers and sisters, but their alliances were not with names of high distinction,† or which intimate any particular connection with the Court.

* Stowe's Chronicle, 1615, p. 526. In a later author I find the following, whether founded on better evidence than mere local tradition I have not been able to ascertain: "This is reported to have been one of King Henry the Eighth's Houses of Pleasure; and disguised by the name of *Jericho*. So that when this lascivious Prince had a mind to be lost in the embraces of his courtisans, the cant word among the courtiers was, that He was gone to *Jericho*." (Morant's History of Essex, 1768, ii. 57.) The Rev. Alfred Suckling, in his Essex collections, says "Adjoining the north side of the churchyard a respectable mansion belonging to the family of Preston occupies the site of an ancient house of pleasure, possessed by Henry the Eighth. It is still distinguished by its former name of *Jericho*." (Weale's Quarterly Papers on Architecture, 1845, iii. 27.)

The priory of Blackmore, of Augustinian canons, was one of the small monasteries dissolved by Wolsey in 1525 for the foundation of his colleges.

In searching the patent rolls of Henry VIII. I have met with the following record relative to this place, which may be thought not inappropriate here. It proves at any rate that the name of *Jericho* existed in the reign of Henry VIII., if not before. 18 Feb. 20 Hen. VIII. (1528-9). Lease by the advice of John Daunce knt. and John Hales to John Smyth of Blackmore, Essex, gent. of the site and mansion of the manor or lordship of Blackmore and the rectory of Blackmore, with all demesne lands &c. *a tenement called Jerico*, and another called "*le Herdewyke*" situated on the said demesne lands, &c. with reservations: for the term of 21 years, at the annual rent of 25*l*. This patent is to confirm the estate which the said John Smyth has in the premises by reason^e of a similar tenement granted to him by an indenture made between master William Capon, S.T.P. the first dean and the fellows of Cardinal's college, Ipswich. (MS. Calendar of the Patent Rolls.)

† The sons were, Sir George, Henry, and William; the daughters, Rose, married to William Grisling, of Lincolnshire; Albora; Agnes, married to Rowland Lacon; Isabella, to William Read; and Elizabeth, lady Tailboys. Sir George Blount married Constance, a daughter of sir John Talbot, and died in 1582, leaving Dorothy his only daughter and heir, married 1. to John Purslow, of Sudbury, co. Salop, and 2. to Edward Bullock, of Bradeley

Her grandfather, Thomas Blount, of Kynlet, who married Anne daughter of sir Richard Croft, was living until the year 1523: at which time her father was only forty years old. This clearly shews that it was at a very early age that the beauty of mistress Elizabeth Blount attracted the regard of king Henry. Shortly after the birth of the duke of Richmond* she was married to Gilbert Taylboys, son of sir George Taylboys, of Kyme in the county of Lincoln, the representative of the ancient baronial family of Kyme, and of the Umphravilles sometime earls of Angus, who were commonly styled earls of Kyme. In the year 1529 sir Gilbert (being then stepfather to the duke of Richmond) was summoned to parliament; but he died in the following year,† having had issue two sons, George and Robert, who both died before him, and one daughter, Elizabeth, who was married first to Thomas Wymbish esquire, of Nocton in Lincolnshire, and secondly to lord Ambrose Dudley, afterwards earl of Warwick. In her right as by courtesy Mr. Wymbish claimed the dignity of a baron, but it was refused him, on the ground that he had no children by the heiress.‡

near Wenlock. (Visitation Salop. in Coll. Arm. Vincent 134; and Blakeway's Sheriffs of Shropshire, fol. 1831, p. 89.)

* It is a common error in the brief notices that have been published of the duke of Richmond (originating with Glover's collections, as cited by Dugdale in his *Baronage*) to describe his mother as the *widow* of sir Gilbert Taylboys at the time of his birth. Her first marriage probably took place in or shortly before 1523, when an act of parliament was passed in her favour in the session of 14-15 Hen. VIII. It sets forth that Gilbert, son and heir apparent of sir George Taylboys knight, had married and taken to his wife Elizabeth daughter of John Blount esquier, "by which marriage aswell the said sir George Taylboys knyght as the said Gilbert Taylboys have receyved not alonely great summes of money, but also many benyfittes to their right mych comforte." It then assures to the said Elizabeth a life estate in sir George Taylboys' houses, lands, &c. in the city of Lincoln, the manors of Skeldyngthorpe, Bamburgh, Freskeny, Sotby, and Faldyngworth, co. Linc.; Newton Kyme and Hesylle, co. York; and Yevilton, co. Somerset. Statutes of the Realm, fol. 1817, iii. 280.

† In the church of South Kyme (as we learn from the collections of Gervase Hollis) there is, or was, a *tumulus marmoreus ere fixus*, recording that "Gilbert lord Tailboys lord of Kyme married Elizabeth the daughter of S^r John Blount of Kinlet in Shropshire, Knt., and died 15^o April An^o 1530." There were also these armorial insignia: 1. Argent, a saltire and on a chief or three escallops of the first, Tailboys; Crest, a bull's head couped. 2. Nebuly of six pieces, or and sable, Blount. 3. Party per pale gules and azure, a bull passant argent. (MS. Harl. 6829, f. 247.)

‡ See Nicolas's *Synopsis of the Peerage*, Introduction, p. lv.

The lady Tailboys was remarried to Edward lord Clinton, afterwards the first earl of Lincoln, lord high admiral, and a knight of the Garter. This nobleman was only five years old at his father's death in 1517, and consequently must have been many years younger than his first wife, who gave birth to the duke of Richmond in 1519. She lived with lord Clinton to be the mother of three daughters,* but no record of the date of her death has been preserved, nor do we readily gather it from other circumstances in the family of lord Clinton, whose heir and successor was the son of his next wife, Ursula Stourton.

No mention of the name of the lady Tailboys has occurred in connection with the subsequent career of her son the duke of Richmond: nor are any traces of the child during his early years of infancy known to be extant. His royal parentage must have been immediately acknowledged by the king, at least to his great councillor Wolsey, for the cardinal was godfather to the child, as appears from two letters which will be introduced hereafter. The boy was named after his royal father at the baptismal font; and for a surname he received that of FitzRoy, which is said to have been given in England in some earlier times, and particularly to Geoffrey one of the natural sons of king John. The precedent, as is well known, was followed by king Charles II. for his children by Barbara Villiers, and in her posterity this name has now been inherited by a very numerous race.

The first historical notice that has been found of "the lord Henry FitzRoy" is upon his election into the Order of the Garter.† This took place at Windsor on the 7th of June 1525, when there were two vacant stalls. The knights present at the election (who were eight in number) nominated, according to ancient custom, each three princes, three barons, and three knights: and all named the "lord FitzRoy" first of the barons; whereupon the king chose the lord Henry FitzRoy and the lord of Westmerland. When their installation took place on the 25th of the same

* Bridget, married to Robert Dymocke of Scrivelsby; Katharine, to William lord Borough; and Margaret, to Charles lord Willoughby of Parham.

† In a letter of Wolsey to the king, written in May or June, 1525, is this passage: "Your grace also shal receyve by this present berer such armes as your highnes hath divided, by Page (*i. e.* Richard Page, afterwards mentioned as one of the duke of Richmond's counsel,) for your entirely beloved sonne the lord Henry FitzRoy." State Papers, 4to. 1830, f. 161. The arms will be found described hereafter.

month, the former was placed in the second stall on the sovereign's side.*

It was at the same time that preparations were made to advance the king's son to the foremost rank of the peerage—then enjoyed by two persons only, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk.† In this and the other great preferments to which the boy was elevated, it is impossible not to suspect that there was some latent intention beyond the ordinary paternal regard natural in such cases, nor to avoid the conclusion that king Henry at this period was entertaining a floating notion that he might hereafter nominate this son to be his successor on the throne, should he in his plenary will and pleasure determine so to do. And if ever in the history of the English Monarchy such a project could have been attempted with any prospect of success, we may, though with difficulty, imagine the possibility of its being carried into effect under the arbitrary rule of him who effected other changes no less extraordinary.‡ It was at a time when Henry had not yet thought of his divorce from

* Anstis, Register of the Garter, ii. 371. The commission to the duke of Norfolk and other knights to install the duke of Richmond, with the earls of Arundel, Westmerland, and Rutland, is printed in the Appendix to Ashmole's History of the Garter, Num. xxiv. "Henry duke of Richemonde and Somersett, elected 23 Aprell and installed 25 June a° 17, first into the ij^d stalle of the Sovereign's [side] by translating of Charles th'em-perour, and last to the ij^d of the Prince's syd by translating Thomas duke of Norfolk, and he dyed A° 27 H. 8." (MS. Harl. 304, f. 125 b.) The stall-plate of the duke of Richmond does not now exist, but is represented in Vinc. 152 at the College of Arms, as noticed at the close of this Memoir. His arms are still emblazoned on one of the bosses of the roof of St. George's chapel, over the organ gallery. (See Willement's Account of the Restoration of the Collegiate Chapel of St. George, Windsor, 1844. 4to. p. 40.)

† In one of the Venetian Relations of England, which was written in 1531, occurs this passage: "There used to be twelve duchies, but from their disobedience and turbulence the duchies have been annexed to the Crown, excepting three, namely Richmond, who is the Grand Admiral and his Majesty's natural son, and he has an annual income of 10,000 ducats. The second is the Duke of Norfolk," &c.—Relation of Ludovico Faliero, quoted by Miss Strickland in her Life of Queen Anne Boleyn.

‡ I am not aware that this opinion has been expressed by many of our historical writers, but bishop Burnet entertained it, who says, but without citing any proof, that the king "intended afterwards to have put him in the succession of the crown after his other children; but his death prevented it:" and, again, that he endeavoured to marry the princess Mary to France, "the more effectually to seclude her from the succession, considering the aversion his subjects had to a French government, that so he might more

queen Katharine, but when he despaired of further issue from her, his eldest son having died an infant in 1509, the second at his birth in 1514, and a final disappointment having occurred in 1518.* His only living legitimate offspring was the lady Mary, then betrothed to her cousin the emperor Charles V.

When dr. Edward Lee and the bishop of Worcester were on an embassy to the emperor in 1527, they were commissioned to treat of further matrimonial alliances in that quarter, but there was on either side a deficiency of marriageable parties. The emperor, who was once to have wedded his cousin the princess Mary, was now a married man: and the ambassadors, after representing that that princess "draweth now to sufficient age of marriage, if there were any prince of his majesty's [the emperor's] blood worthy to have her in marriage, that the king's highness could be content to bestow her in the affinity of his majesty afore all others; but for bicause his highness knoweth of no such prince unmarried, therefore (they proceeded to intimate that) his highness would be content to study some other good device of marriage between his highness and some noble princess of his majesty's blood and near lineage, and that his highness can be content to bestow the duke of Richmond and Somerset, who is near of his blood, and of excellent qualities, and is already furnished to keep the state of a great prince, and *yet may be easily by the king's means exalted to higher things*, to some noble princess of his near blood, to the more strength and corroboration of amity between them."† This passage plainly intimates that it was once regarded as a possible contingency that Henry VIII. might nominate his only, though illegitimate, son to succeed him on the throne, whilst the lady Mary was married abroad. But more on these matrimonial negotiations hereafter.

The titles by which, for the present, he was raised to the highest rank as a peer were those of Duke of Richmond and Somerset, and Earl of Nottingham—all dignities which had been previously connected with the blood royal. The first, with the title of Earl, after having been long enjoyed by the counts and dukes of Bretagne, had been sometime held by John of

easily settle his bastard son, the duke of Richmond, in the succession of the crown." History of the Reformation (edit. 1829), i. 18, 74.

* See State Papers, published by the Record Commission, vol. i. pp. 1, 2.

† Letter of Lee to Wolsey, dated 17 April, 1527.

Ghent the fourth son of king Edward III. and by John duke of Bedford the younger son of king Henry IV. By king Henry VI. it was conferred on his half-brother Edmund Tudor, whose son was usually designated by it before his accession to the throne as king Henry VII.; and lastly it had for many years been popularly known and respected as belonging to the dowager countess of Richmond, that monarch's mother. The title of Somerset, which had belonged to the legitimated posterity of John of Ghent, might also be regarded as the king's inheritance independent of the kingdom, for the countess of Richmond had become the heir of the Beauforts, and indeed it was through that descent only that the Tudors were heirs to the house of Lancaster. The same dukedom had been given in 1499 to prince Edmund the third son of king Henry VII., but he had died in his infancy. The earldom of Nottingham had belonged to the Mowbrays, and in right of their inheritance had been one of the dignities of Richard duke of York the younger son of king Edward IV.

The king added further solemnity to the creation of his son by making it the occasion of conferring various other dignities of peerage, and it is remarkable that several of these were also bestowed in recognition of the claims of royal blood. Henry Courtenay earl of Devonshire, the grandson of king Edward IV. through his daughter Katharine, was created Marquess of Exeter, a title which had previously been associated with royalty in the person of king Edward's sister.* Henry Brandon son of the duke of Suffolk by the king's sister Mary, queen dowager of France, was created Earl of Lincoln, like as John de la Pole, who occupied a similar relationship to king Edward IV. had been so created by that monarch in 1467. Sir Thomas Manners lord Roos, the grandson of Anne another of the sisters of king Edward IV., was created Earl of Rutland, which dignity had been one of those enjoyed by the house of York. Besides these, Henry lord Clifford was created Earl of Cumberland (he afterwards married Eleanor Brandon, sister and coheir to the above-named earl of Lincoln); sir Robert Radclyffe lord FitzWalter was created Viscount FitzWalter (he was subsequently, in 1529, the first earl of Sussex); and sir Thomas Boleyn (who became afterwards the king's father-in-law, earl of Wiltshire and Ormonde, and the grandfather of queen

* See the curious history of the duchy of Exeter in "Grants, &c. of King Edward V." p. lxx.

Elizabeth,) was created Viscount Rochford. Such were the noble companions of the subject of this memoir in his elevation to the peerage.*

In the patents of Henry FitzRoy's peerages we find the usual exaggerations of the personal merits of the grantee, accompanied by a declaration that he was nearly related to the sovereign, though without admitting that the king was his father. A third patent gave the duke and his heirs precedence before all other dukes already created, or to be created hereafter, those born legitimately of the king's body, or of the bodies of his heirs and successors, alone excepted.†

To maintain the dignity of earl of Nottingham there was assigned in the patent the sum of 20*l.* to be received from the sheriffs of the counties of Nottingham and Derby; and for the dukedom the sum of 40*l.* from the revenues of the counties of York, Somerset, and Dorset. But the king provided more liberally for his son's establishment, by other letters patent and by several acts of parliament. The estates which were settled upon the duke of Richmond and Somerset were a portion of those which had been attached to the same titles in former times. By letters patent dated at the More the 11th Aug. 1525, the king granted to him divers honours, castles, lordships, rents, and hereditaments which had belonged to Edmond late earl of Richmond, John late duke of Somerset, and Margaret late countess of Richmond. The disposition was confirmed by an act of parliament which was passed in 1530-1, and amended in 1534.‡ The estates (which are named in the act) were in the several counties of York, Lincoln, Northampton, Bedford, Cambridge, Hertford, Southampton, Essex, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, Kent, Sussex, Gloucester, Westmerland, Derby, Rutland, Worcester, Stafford, Norfolk, Pembroke, Cardigan, with many in North Wales, and also the reversion of the mansion of Coldharbour in the

* The ceremonial of the creation is appended to the present memoir.

† See the three letters patent hereafter.

‡ The first act (22 Hen. VIII. ch. xvii.) is printed in the Statutes of the Realm, 1817, vol. iii. pp. 338—344. Its length is occasioned by the addition of no fewer than forty-three provisoes to protect the existing interests of those who had received former grants upon the same estates. It was amended by a subsequent act, passed in 1534, 26 Hen. VIII. ch. xxi. printed *ibid.* p. 525. By other acts passed in 1531-2 and 1533-4, (23 Hen. VIII. ch. xxviii. and 25 Hen. VIII. ch. xxx.) the duke of Richmond exchanged a fee-farm rent of 50*l.* from the town of Waltham with John lord Lumley, for certain manors and lordships in Westmerland and Lancashire. *Ibid.* pp. 409, 487.

city of London after the life of George Earl of Shropshire.* The greater number of manors lay in the counties of Lincoln, Somerset, and Devon. In Northamptonshire he received the manor-house of Colyweston, and in Dorsetshire that of Canford, which had formerly belonged to the earls of Salisbury, with the ancient castle of Corfe. The castle and honour of Richmond itself was not included; but the manors, &c. assigned to the duke were by the second act passed in 1534 declared to be severed from that honour.

Though the duke of Richmond was as yet a mere child, the king's affection was not satisfied until he was further dignified by the great offices of Lord High Admiral, Lieutenant-General North of Trent,† and Warden of all the Marches towards Scotland.

The first of these was conferred upon him by patent, dated the 16th of July, 1525, whereby he was constituted Admiral of England, Wales, Ireland, Normandy, Gascony, and Guienne.‡

The office of General Warden of the Marches towards Scotland had been relinquished by the duke of Norfolk in the previous December, and their government had latterly been divided: that of the Western march having been administered by Thomas lord Dacre of the North (who died shortly after this date, on the 24th Oct. 1525), that of the Eastern march by lord Roos (who now, as we have seen, was rewarded by his elevation to the earldom of Rutland), and that of the Middle march by sir William Eure. The duke of Richmond was appointed Warden-general of all the

* By two acts passed in 1536, 28 Hen. VIII. ch. xxxiii. and xxxiv. the king gave to the bishop of Durham the mansion-house of Cold Harbour, sett and leying in Teames strete, in the parish of Allhalowes the less, in exchange for the mansion house of Durham place, in the parish of St. Martin in the field nigh Charing cross; and thereupon the house called Baynard's castle, in the parish of St. Benet Huda, in the city of London, was granted to the duke of Richmond,—evidently in exchange for the mansion of Cold harbour, though not so expressed. The king had, however, previously occupied Durham place, and it was from thence that the duke of Richmond was brought to his creation at Bridewell palace in 1525.

† This office is attributed to him by Lord Herbert of Chirbury, in his History of Henry the Eighth, but I have not met with any documentary evidence of it. It was, perhaps, coincident with that of Warden of the Marches, as the duke of Norfolk, in Oct. 1524, is styled the king's lieutenant in the North parts. (State Papers, iv. 156.)

‡ Pat. 17 Hen. VIII. p. 2. m. 15. This document is printed by Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 42.

marches, whilst the same noblemen continued the effective government of the borders under the designation of deputy wardens or lieutenants.*

The chief administration of affairs in the Northern parts of England was at this period still seated in the county of York, as it had been during the reign of Edward IV., when Richard duke of Gloucester held vice-regal power there, and during the still earlier times when it was considered to belong, as of right, to the dukedom of York. The duke of Richmond, on being appointed to the office, was at once sent to assume the nominal supremacy over the counsels of the North. His journey, however, was made with much deliberation, for altogether it occupied more than a month. An interesting account of its early stages is preserved † in a report which was made to Wolsey by the duke's attendants, when they had travelled so far as Colyweston, near Stamford. It is signed by various members of his council, viz. dr. Brian Higdon, sir William Parre, sir William Bulmer, sir Godfrey Foljambe, sir Thomas Tempest, Thomas Dalby, and William Taite (whose several offices will be shown presently). It states that the cavalcade had proceeded on their journey on Wednesday the 26th of July, by riding from the house of William Jekyll (who resided at Stoke Newington, in Middlesex),‡ unto my lady Parre's,§

* The duke's patent as lord warden is not itself upon record : but it is recited in that of his successor, Henry earl of Northumberland, who was appointed on the 2nd Dec. 1527. It thence appears that it was dated on the 24th July, 1525, and that it appointed him Warden-general of the marches towards Scotland, viz. the Estmarch, Westmarch, and Middlemarch, and in the lordship of Scotland, with powers of array extending to the counties of Cumberland, Westmerland, and Northumberland, for the defence of the said marches, and for the rescue and safe custody of the towns and castles of Berwick and Carlisle in time of danger. The earl of Northumberland's appointment is recorded on the patent roll 19 Hen. VIII. p. 2., m. 2 ; which Sandford, in his *Genealogical History*, cites as authority for his erroneous assertion that the duke of Richmond had his patent in the 19th of Henry VIII. and Dugdale also (ii. 305) mistakes it for " a new patent " to him.

† Wolsey's Correspondence, State Paper Office, vol. vi. no. 143, printed in *State Papers*, 4to. 1836 (*Correspondence of Scotland and the Borders*), vol. iv. p. 385.

‡ William Jekyll, ancestor of the Jekylls of Essex, was of Newington in Middlesex, and died in 1522. Visitation of Essex 1634.

§ The lady Parre was probably the widow of sir Thomas Parre, who had died on the 12th Nov. 1518, and the mother of Katharine the last wife of Henry VIII. Where her house was I have not ascertained, unless it was at the manor of Hoddesdon (see Clutterbuck's *Hertfordshire*, ii. 59), which was the inheritance of her daughter-in-law Anne, daughter of Henry Bourchier earl of Essex, and wife of William Parre, afterwards mar-

"where his grace was marvelously well intreated, and had good chere. And there the duke of Norffolke tooke his leyf of hym, demaundyng if his grace wolde any thing to the kinges highness."

The next day the young traveller proceeded to Buntingford; on the Friday to Shengay, in Cambridgeshire; and on the Saturday to Huntingdon, where he stayed during the whole of Sunday. Between lady Parre's and Huntingdon no person of all the country met him, save only at Huntingdon doctor Halle met his grace without the town, and upon the bridge the bailiffs, with the honest men of the town, presented unto him four great pykes and four tenches. The abbat of Ramsey sent "certeyn swannes, cranes, and other wyldefowle, in a present, and doctour Halle gave his grace wyne, and also unto his counsaill."

On Monday the duke, leaving Huntingdon, went onward to "George Kyrkham's house," and from thence on Tuesday to Colyweston. "And in the way his grace kyllled a buk hymself, in the kynges parke called Clyf parke, where Davy Sicile maid his grace and all his folkes right good chere, at the said Davies own cost and charge." This is a remarkable notice of David Cecill, the grandfather of the great Burghley, who had obtained a grant of the keepership of Clyffe Park in 8 Hen. VIII. and the stewardship of the lordship of Colyweston in 15 Hen. VIII.

Whilst the duke remained at Colyweston, which was his own house,* the abbats of Peterborough and Crowland sent to him "certayn goodly presentes of swannes, cranes, and other wyldefowle."

It was from Colyweston that the letter which has afforded these particulars was written, and the council's report of the remainder of the duke's quess of Northampton. She might possibly, at this early date, have the wardship of that heiress. Sir William Parre, the duke of Richmond's chamberlain, was doubtless the younger brother of sir Thomas; he was afterwards created a baron, by the title of lord Parre of Horton, in the year 1543, when he was chamberlain to his niece queen Katharine.

* The manor house of Colyweston had been rebuilt by the king's grandmother, the countess of Richmond. When Henry VII. married his daughter Margaret to the king of Scots, in 1502, he accompanied her himself as far as Colyweston, and from thence she was conducted by the earl of Northumberland into Scotland. Leland says, "Coly-Weston for the most part is of a new building, by the lady Margaret, mother to king Henry VII. The Lord Cromwell had afore begunne a house there: bagges (*i. e.* badges) of purses yet remayne there yn the chapelle and other places." There were ruins early in the last century, but they had been wholly removed before Bridges wrote his History of Northamptonshire.

progress has not been preserved, but they add that in all the journey so far he "rode nott in his horse-lytter, but only from William Jekylles house a 3 or 4 myles, which ryding in his said horse-lytter his grace liked nothing; but ever sythens his grace hathe ryden upon his hobye, and hathe been very well at ease, and is cumen right merely unto Collewston, thanked be God, and in better case and more lusty of his boddy than his grace was at his first taking of his journeye." Notwithstanding, they reminded the lord cardinal "to send a phisician unto my lordes grace, for the preservation of his person." He was to remain nearly a week at Colýweston, and to start again on his progress towards York on Monday the 7th of August.

After another journey of ten days, he arrived in that city on the 17th of August,* and remained there until the 28th of the same month, when he proceeded to take up his residence at Sheriff Hutton. "And oute of Yorke sir Marmaduke Cunstable, th'eldre and the younger, sir William Cunstable of Hatfeld, and Edward Gowre esquier, with others, attended on his grace, and brought hym on his weye towards Shirefhutton." At York the council had been joined by John Uvedale, who had received the appointment of secretary to the duke, and who brought with him from Wolsey "all suche lettres patentes, commissions of oyer determiner, of the peas, and of enquerry for offices, togidder with the booke of the diettes, the chek roll of my said lorde, and instruccions signed with the gracious hande of the kinges highnes oure soverain lorde, like as they bee severally conteyned in a papir subscribed with youre (Wolsey's) signe manuell."†

* His arrival at York on the 17th August is noticed in the records of the corporation. It does not appear that he afterwards resided within the city. I am informed by my friend Mr. Davies, the late Town Clerk of York, that the only further notice of the duke of Richmond occurring in the records of the Corporation refers to a correspondence which took place concerning a person in his establishment who had committed an offence within the city jurisdiction, when occasion was taken for requesting that the "rowme and offyce of sword-bearer" should be given to Alan Ary, his grace's servant. But the corporate authorities were not disposed to submit to the duke's patronage. They begged him to "gyf sparyng unto such tyme as the kynges grace and the lord cardenelles grace pleasour might be farther knowne," and, probably for the purpose of preventing any future interference of a similar kind, a grant of the office was made to Henry Fawkes for his life, and he continued in the undisturbed enjoyment of it for upwards of twenty years afterwards. (The Fawkes's of York, by Robert Davies, esq. F.S.A. 1850, p. 11.)

† State Papers, 1836, vol. iv. p. 392.

In a subsequent part of the same letter occurs this passage, "We understande alsoo by the said John Uvedal that the kinges highnes shuld send woorde unto your grace that we shulde make means and desire his highnes to have a Chapell, because the lorde Darcy and the lord Latymer have chapelles,* which thinge we ensure your Grace was never done by us, ner yet spoken of, ner thoughte to be convenyente as yet." They proceed to request that the further consideration of this matter should be deferred, until the duke's household, and the good order of the North parts generally, was more perfectly established. It appears from the ensuing Inventory that at the time of his death the duke of Richmond maintained the establishment of a chapel, and particularly at his manor of Tonges.

When the duke of Richmond was established in his government of the Northern parts, the castle of Sheriff Hutton† was regarded as his own principal residence, but he also occasionally occupied the king's castle of Pontefract. His household was now formed in the amplitude of princely splendour, and we are furnished with the following list of his

* The lord Darcy's residence was Temple hurst, now Temple Newsome, near Leeds; and the lord Latimer's "chief howse," as Leland tells us, was at the "goodly castle" of Snape: see Whitaker's *Richmondshire*, ii. 90.

† The castle of Sheriff Hutton is described by Leland, who remarks that "it was well maintainid by reason that the late duke of Norfolk lay there ten yeres, and sins the duke of Richmond. There is (he says) a base court with houses of office afore the entring of the castelle. The castelle self in the front is not diked, but it stondith *in loco utrinque edito*. I markid yn the fore-front of the first area of the castelle self 3. great and high toures, of the which the gate-house was the midle. In the seconde *area* there be a 5. or 6. toures, and the stately staire up to the haul is very magnificent, and so is the haul itself, and al the residew of the house; in so much that I saw no house in the North so like a princely logginges. There is a park by the castel. From Shirhuten (Leland rode) to York vij. miles, and in the forest of Galtres, wherof 4 miles or more was low medowes and morische ground ful of carres, the residew by better ground, but not very high." Whilst the duke of Norfolk and his family resided at Sheriff Hutton the poet Skelton wrote his "Wreath of Laurel," in which he describes (in general terms) the beauties of the spot: see Skelton's Works, edited by Dyce. On the duke of Norfolk's death, in 1524, it reverted to the crown. The castle was dismantled in the reign of James I. In consequence of the elevation on which it was placed its ruins are visible at a great distance on every side. There is a little book on Sheriff Hutton Castle, by Mr. George Todd, of York, 1824. 8vo.

principal officers, as authorised to act under the sign-manual of Wolsey:—

[From a transcript in MS. Harl. 589, f. 192.]

Offyceres and Counselores appoynted to bee Resydente and aboute the persone of the Henry FitzRoye, Duke of Richmonde, in the Northe parts.
The nombere of the Chekerolles.

The deane of Yorke, Chauncelore.*

The Arche deacon of Richemonde,† deane of his Chappell and Tresorore of his Chamber.
Mr. Magnus,‡ Survayore and generall Receavore.

Sir William Bullmere,§ Stuard of Houshold.

Sir Godfrey Engleham, (*lege* Fulgeham,||) Tresoror of Houshold.

Sir Thomas Tempest,¶ Comptroler.

Roger Radclyfe, Chamberlan.

Richard Page, Vicechamberlen.

* Brian Higdon, LL.D. was dean of York from 1516 to 1539.

† Thomas Dalby, doctor of decrees, became archdeacon of Richmond in 1506; he was also a prebendary of York, canon of Beverley, and treasurer of archbishop Savage's hospital. He died on the 26th Jan. 1525, and was buried in York cathedral: see in Drake's York or in Willis's Cathedrals his epitaph, in which, in addition to the preceding preferments, he is further styled "*capellani et consilarii illustrissimi regis Henrici vij. et capellani et consilarii serenissimi regis Henrici viij. et decani capelle illustrissimi principis ducis Richmond et Somerset.*"

‡ Thomas Magnus was archdeacon of the East riding from 1504 until his death in 1550, and a canon of Windsor from 1520 to 1547. He was buried at Sessay in Yorkshire, where he was rector. See further of him in Wood's *Fasti Oxon.* (by Bliss), vol. i. col. 53. Many of his letters, written when ambassador in Scotland, are printed in the volumes of the State Papers Commission.

§ Sir William Bulmer, of Wilton in Cleveland, was lieutenant of the East march and captain of Norham castle. Among Wolsey's Correspondence in the State Paper Office, are several of his letters addressed to that minister, some of which are dated from Norham. In two of them (vol. i. 143, 144), but which have not years to their dates, he begs to be relieved from all office on account of his age and infirmities, and offers the services of his sons, Sir John and Sir William, in his place. His son and heir sir John was attained, 28 Hen. VIII. for his share in Aske's rebellion: see the pedigree in Ord's Cleveland, p. 409.

|| Sir Godfrey Foljambe, of Walton, co. Derby, was an esquire of the king's body in 1513, when he received from Wriothesley Garter a grant of a cat-wolf as the supporter of his arms. See the memoirs of the Foljambe family printed in *Collectanea Topograph. et Genealogica*, vol. i. p. 356.

¶ Sir Thomas Tempest, of Holmeside, co. Durham, a serjeant-at-law, was seneschal to the bishops of Durham from 1510 to 1544, with a fee of 20*l.* See Hutchinson's *History of Durham*, i. 407, and the pedigree in Surtees's *History of that county*, ii. 327.

Counsellors. { Palgrave, Scolmastere.
 Fayrfaxe,* Serjante at lawe.
 Chaunselere of Duresme.†
 Bowes ‡
 Woodhall, [*or* Uvedale, *see* p. xx.] Secretary.
 Walter Luke, § generall Attorney.

Doctore Tate, || Almonere.

Doctore Bates ¶ (*lege* Buttes), Phisycion.

(*Signed*)

T. CARLIS EBOR'.

A proporsyone of houshold for the duke of Richemonde.

The number of the Chekerole.

Chaunselor. Firste the deane of Yorke, servantes v.

Chamberlen. Roger Ratelyfe, servantes iiij, for his wages xxxvj^{li} xiijs^{iiij}d.

Vice Chamberlen. Richard Page, servantes iiij, for his wages xx^{li}.

* Thomas Fairfax, serjeant-at-law 1521, second son of Sir Guy Fairfax, of Steeton, co. York, one of the judges of the king's bench.

† William Frankeleyn, B.D. was archdeacon of Durham from 1515 until his death, and some time rector of Houghton le Spring. He was also temporal chancellor of the see, with a fee of forty marks. (Hutchinson's Durham, i. 407.) He was president of Queen's college, Cambridge, from 1526 to 1528. In 1535 he obtained the deanery of Windsor, but was obliged to resign it in 1553: he died rector of Chalfont St. Giles, co. Bucks, in Jan. 1555-6, and was there buried. A very long and remarkable letter of his to Wolsey on the mineral riches of the Bishopric of Durham is printed by Hutchinson, i. 405. See more of him in Lipscomb's Buckinghamshire, vol. ii. p. 69, vol. iii. p. 232.

‡ Sir Robert Bowes, younger brother of sir Ralph Bowes, of Streatlam, was escheator of the bishopric of Durham from 1529 to 1543, some time warden of the Middle march, and finally master of the rolls in 1592. See Surtees's History of Durham, iv. 107, and Durham Wills, published by the Surtees Society, p. 145.

§ Walter Luke, afterwards serjeant-at-law 1532, and a justice of the king's bench 1533. He died in 1544, and was buried at Cople, co. Bedford, where his effigy in brass plate remains.

|| William Taite held the prebend of Botevant in the church of York from 1522 to 1540. He was also sacrist of Beverley, rector of one of the medieties of Thweng, and official of the court of Carlisle. Willis's Cathedrals, i. 123.

¶ William Buttes, M.D. of Cambridge 1518, became the king's principal physician, and was knighted. He died in 1545, and was buried at Fulham near London. His portrait occurs in Holbein's picture of Henry VIII. granting the charter to the College of Physicians, and that of his lady—Margaret, daughter of John Bacon, of Cambridgeshire, in Holbein's Heads, by Chamberlain. See further of him in notes to Sir H. Nicolas's Privy-purse Expenses of Henry VIII. p. 305, and in Wood's Fasti Oxon. (by Bliss), vol. i. col. 50.

Tresorer of y^e Chamber. Mr. Dalby, Archdeacon of Richmond, servantes iiij.
 Generall Receavor. Mr. Magnus, servantes v.
 Almoner. Doctor Tate, servantes iij.
 Phesytyone. Doctore Buttes, servantes iij, for his wages xx^{li}.
 Scolmastere. Mr. Palgrave, servantes iij, for his wages xiiij^{li} vj^s viij^d.
 Secretary. Mr. Woodhall, servantes iij, for his wages x^{li}.
 Generall Attorney. Walter Luke, servantes iij, for his wages xiiij^{li} vj^s viij^d.
 Solysetor. , servantes ij, for his wages x^{li}.
 Counselor Retayned—Mr. Fayrefaxe, serjante at the lawe, servantes iij, for his wages
 xiiij^{li} vj^s viij^d.
 The Chauncelor of Duresme, servantes iiij.
 Counselors in' } Sir Wm. Eures,* knighte, servantes iiij, for his wages xx^{li}.
 Houshold. } Mr. Bowes, servantes iiij, for his wages xx^{li}.
 iiij chaplenes, servantes viij, wherof } To every chaplene, for fyndinge ij horses for him
 one clarke of y^e closet . . . } and his servante, at ij^d ob. the daye.
 ij gentlemen huisherers, servantes iiij.
 ij copberers
 ij carveres } servantes xij } at vij^d ob. the daye.
 ij sewerers of the chamber }
 viij gentlemen waytores, servantes xvj
 Yeomen huishers of the chambere ij } at iij^d the daye.
 Yeomen of the chambere xx
 ij groomes of the previe chamber } to every of them at xl^s the yeare.
 ij groomes of the utter chamber }
 j page of the previe chambere } to every of them at xvj^s viij^d the yeare.
 ij pages of the utter chamber }
 ij footemen } at iij^d the daye.
 (*MSS. cut away.*)

The Housholde.

Stuarde. Sir Wm. Bulmere, knighte, servants iiij, for his wages xxxiiij^{li} vj^s vij^d.
 Tresorore. Sir Godfrey Fuljambe, knighte, servants iiij, for his wages xxvj^{li} vj^s viij^d.
 Comptrolere. Thomas Tempeste, knighte, servantes iiij, for his wages xxvj^{li} xiiij^s iiij^d.
 Cofferer. George Lawsons,† servantes iij, for his wages xx^{li}.
 Clerke of the grene clothe, or } servantes iij, for his wages x^{li}.
 auditor for the houshold. }
 Clerke comptrolere, servants ij, for his wages c^s.
 Clerke of kitchen, servants ij, for his wages c^s.

* Sir William Eure was lieutenant of the Middle march in 1523. He was afterwards the first lord Eure, of Wilton Castle, co. Durham, so created in 1544.

† George Lawson died captain of Wark castle in 1558: see the Durham Wills published by the Surtees Society, p. 176.

Pantry.	{ xj yeomen ij groomes	}	Gent' vij ^d ob', yeomen iiij ^d the daye, and groomes xl ^s the yeaere.
Cellere.	{ j gentleman j yeoman		
Buterey.	{ ij groomes cu' fr' ob' [?] j yeoman, ij groomes		
Yewery.	{ j yeoman, ij groomes j marshall		
Halle.	{ j yeoman gr' cu' fu' ob' [?] j yeoman		
Almoner.	{ j yeoman j groome	}	Gentlemen at vij ^d ob', yeomen at iiij ^d the daye, groomes at xl ^s , children at xxvj ^s viij ^d , and laborers at xx ^s the yeaere.
Kitchene and	{ j mastere cooke		
Boylngghouse.	{ ij yeomen groomes cu' fac' [?]		
	{ ij children iiij laboreres		
Poultry and	{ j yeoman		
Scaldinghouse.	{ ij groomes		
Pastery,	{ ij yeomen		
Squelye, and	{ iiij groomes		
Sausery.			
Slaughter-	{ j yeoman		
house.	{ ij groomes		
Acatorye.	{ j yeoman iiij groomes		
Garderobe of	{ ij yeomen		
Robes and	{ vij groomes		
beddes.			
Potycary,	{ ij yeomen		
Spicery, and	{ iiij groomes		
wafery.			
Porteres at the	{ i yeoman		
gateand cart-	{ ij groomes		
takeres.			
Backhouse and	{ ij yeomen, groomes vi		
bruhouse.			
Barbore.	{ i yeoman		
Laundere.	{ j yeoman, groomes ij		
	{ Master of the horse, servantes iiij, for his wages xl ^l .		
Stable.	{ Clerke of the avery, servantes ij, for his wages vi ^l xij ^s iiij ^d .		
	{ j yeoman, j groome of the stiroke ij.		

Stable.	{	j yeoman, j groome feriores ij	}	To every yeoman at xl ^s , and every groome xxvj ^s viij ^d by the year.
		j yeoman, j groome cartemen ij		
		j yeoman, j groome somptermen ij		
		yeomen, groomes, lyttermen, ij		
		horskeeperes x		
Some of the nombre of the Checkroule		{ ccxlv. * by the year	{ c xx viij iiij vj ^{li} xv ^s vij ^d ob ^r .	

Then follow in the same MS. "the ordenarye diette by estymacion for my Lorde the Duke of Richemonde" at various periods of the year, the liveries of his officers, &c. and the ordinary fees of his household, the whole again signed by the cardinal of York, extending to 9½ folio pages. The sum of all charges by the year was by estimation 3105*l*. 9*s*. 8*d*.

Among the Wolsey papers now in the Rolls House are several relating to the duke of Richmond's household, of which I have examined these four:—

First Series, 743. A Proporcion of my lord of Richemondes howshold (Lib. B.) A folio quire of parchment, of which nine leaves are occupied by writing: being tables of daily diet, and liveries. Sum total for the year by estimation 2,439*l*. 1*s*. 9½*d*.

Second Series, No. 800. The sum total of all the household expenses from the 12th June, 17 Hen. VIII. (1525) to the last of March following, being nine months and nineteen days, viz. 3,073*l*. 7*s*. 0½*d*., being at the rate of 6*l*. 9*s*. 1*d*. a day, 290*l*. 15*s*. 2½*d*. a month, or 3,816*l*. 6*s*. 9¾*d*. for the whole year.

No. 841. The account of Richard Coton, clerk comptroller, from the 16th June, 17 Hen. VIII. (1525) to the last of December, being for a half year and seventeen days. This paper gives at length the particulars of the diet of the household, the total of which is 1,042*l*. 19*s*. 11¾*d*.: then follow these items:—

	£	s.	d.
Necessaries for the household	114	2	11½
Extraordinary expenses and rewardes given for presents	57	14	10
Installation at Windsor, fees to officers	22	6	8
Wardrobe of robes	87	9	2
Counsel and servants, for diet	346	14	3
Expenses from Marton Abbey to York for 25 days	91	14	7
Fees and wages of officers for a half year	440	15	5
Land carriage	75	2	2½
Water carriage	15	18	2
Napery of my lord and the household	7	14	4
To lord Ogle for the safe keeping of Tyndale	20	0	0
Expenses of Sir Edward Seymour, master of the horses, for horses bought, provender, and other expenses of the stable	91	9	10
Money paid to Edward Forest for repairs	234	4	1
	£1,605	6	6

Total of all expenses, 2,648*l*. 6*s*. 5¾*d*.

No. 393. This is an account resembling the last, beginning the 12th June, 17th Hen. VIII. and extending to the last day of March following. The heads (each of which refers to a separate book of particulars) are as follow :—

	£	s.	d.
The gardrobe of roobes—apparel provided for the duke .	88	1	2
The gardrobe of beddes—hangings for chambers and other stuffe	63	2	7½
Stable—diverse horses and geldings with certain sadelles, and other necessities	68	2	10
Reparations on the manor of Sheriff Hutton	321	19	10½
Extraordinary and foreign charges :—			
Costs and expenses of the duke's council sitting as well at Duresme-place, determyning certayne causes concerning the duke's household, as also sitting in comission at York, and other places, for the determynation and administracion of justyce	47	2	3
The rowlling of the said duke's patent, with fees at his installation at Winsour	37	10	4
New yeres gifts	6	9	5
Rewardes to persons bringing new yeres gifts	9	6	8
Greyhounds and other hounds	4	10	0
Players and mynstrellies for rewardes	3	18	8
Prest to the lord Ogle for the keping of Tyndalle	20	0	0
Almes—to the Almer for almes distributed to poore peepulle	11	17	10

Somme of all the allowance aforesaid, 682*l.* 1*s.* 8½*d.*

Whilst surrounded with all this attendance and magnificence, and nominally in an office of so great political importance, the real business of the duke of Richmond at this period must have been his own progress in those studies for which the king and Wolsey had supplied him with instructors. We have seen from the foregoing list of his household that his school-master's name was Palsgrave; but we also learn from documents which are hereafter introduced that that office was for some time filled by Dr. Richard Croke. Both these persons were men of considerable celebrity for their skill in languages. John Palsgrave was the author of that book, now so valuable in illustrating both English and French terms of this period, *Lesclarcissement de la Langue Francoyse*;* and from the intro-

* John Palsgrave was an Englishman, born in London, and a graduate of Paris. His epistle to the kynges grace, which is prefixed to *Lesclarcissement*, &c. states that he had been commanded by the king to instruct the right excellent princess his sister Mary, the dowager of France, in the French tongue, a fact which is confirmed by the following item

ductory portions of that work, which was printed in 1530, we find that "he had in commandment by our most redoubted sovereign to instruct the duke of Richmond's grace in the Latin tongue." Dr. Richard Croke had previously been Reader of Greek in the university of Cambridge.* Our great antiquarian benefactor John Leland appears also to have interfered in the duke's instruction, at least so far as to present him with a copybook of great and small letters, which was accompanied with the following Latin verses:—

Ad illustrissimum Henricum ducem Richomontanum.

Quo Romana modo majuscula littera pingi,
Pingi quo possit littera parva modo,
Hic liber ecce tibi signis monstrabit apertis,
Princeps Aonii spes et alumne gregis,
Qui tibi si placeat, quod certe spero futurum,
Maxima pro parvo munere dona dabis.

Encomia Illustrium Virorum, p. 68.

of the date of the 6th Jan. 1513: "To mr. John Palysgrave clerke, scolemaster to my lady princess, for his wages for one hole yere, vj li. xiiij s. iiij d." Privy-purse Expenses of Henry VIII., at the Rolls House, A v. 17. At the same place are two letters of the same Queen, both dated at Paris (3d April, and 13th November, but without the year), soliciting Wolsey for preferment for Palsgrave; and a paper, No. 605, relating to his appointment to the rectory of Asfordby, co. Leic. The king granted him a privilege of seven years for his book on the French language, dated at Amptthill, 2 Sept. a. r. xxii. (1530). The author's epistle is followed by one from "Andrewe Baynton to the ryght noble and excellent yong gentilmen Thomas Hawarde, my lord Geralde, and maister Charles Blont, sonne and heyre to the lord Montjoye, his late scole felowes," where Palsgrave is spoken of as "our maister," and in which occurs this passage: "After he had in commandment by our most redouted soveraygne to instructe the duke of Richemontes grace in the Latin tong, he brought all the hole Analogie of the Romane speche into ix letters; that is to say, theyr five vowelles, and m, n, r, s, consonantes, whiche thyng was never, as yet, of no clerk that he wotteth of afore his tyme observed: saving that Marcus Varro," &c. Ten years later Palsgrave published "*Acalastus*, a Latin comedy, set forth before the burgesses of the Hague in Holland in 1529, by William Fullonius, translated into our English tongue after such maner as chylderne are taught in the grammer scoole, by John Palsgrave, Londinensis. 1540." See him further noticed in Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* (edit. Bliss), vol. i. 121.

* The fact of Croke being the duke of Richmond's tutor was noticed by Burnet in his *History of the Reformation*, vol. i. p. 85—probably from the letters hereafter printed. The statement was adopted by Anthony à Wood, in the second edition of his *Athenæ*, when giving the biography of Croke, with the unauthorised addition that the duke was "with him at King's college in Cambridge." Wood also imagined that the earl of

Holinshed the chronicler takes upon him to say (but it does not appear whether upon any other authority than the preceding "hexastichon," which he quotes,) that the duke "loved John Leland the reverend antiquarie:" he also remarks, "This duke was verie forward in the knowledge of toongs, and also in knightlie activitie, as may appeare by due consideration of the historie in place where he is mentioned."*

On the 10th October following the duke of Richmond's arrival at Sheriff Hutton, one of his councillors named William Frankeleyn, the chancellor of Durham, thus wrote to Wolsey:—

"I assure your grace my lord of Richmond is a chylde of excellent wisdom and towardnes; and, for his good and quyk capacitie, retentyve memorie, vertuous inclinasion to all honor, humanitie, and goodness, I thynk hard it wolbe to fyende any creature lyving of twise his age hable or worthy to be compared to hym. How his grace used hymself in dispechieng mr. almoner† (myself being present), and with what gravitie and good maner he desyred to be recommendid unto the kinges highnes, the quene, and your grace, I doubt not but the said mr. almoner woll advertyse your grace at his commyng."‡

In a letter§ written by the duke's council on the 5th November, 1525,

Surrey was a student of Cardinal college in Oxford, and added that it was probable that the duke of Richmond accompanied Surrey thither. Dr. Nott, in discussing the education of the earl of Surrey (*Memoirs*, p. xx), refused to credit the story about Oxford; but admitted, "I believe the fact to be, respecting Richmond, that he studied at Cambridge, at King's college, under the learned Richard Croke, who was then public Greek Reader there." It is evident, however, that the claims of either university to either of these noble pupils are alike groundless.

In a letter of Thomas Hennege to Wolsey, dated the 4th Aug. 1528, occurs this passage: "Also his hignes [the king] commaunded me, in my wrytyng to your grace, to putt you in remembraunce, as I did write unto you before, for the benefice of Horworth, to dispose the same to my lord of Richemont his scoolemaster." (*State Papers*, 1830, i. 324.) It does not, however, appear to which schoolmaster this notice refers. In 1534 one Roger Beeston was vicar of Harworth, co. Nottingham (*Valor Ecclesiast.* v. 183), which it may be presumed was the benefice in question.

* Holinshed, *Chronicle*, fol. 1586, iii. 1237.

† This was the king's almoner, Edward Lee, afterwards archbishop of York.

‡ *State Papers*, 4to. 1836, (*Scotland and the Borders*), vol. iv. p. 408.

§ This letter, which is preserved in MS. Cotton. *Caligula*, B. vi. art. 37, is omitted in the volume of the *State Papers Commission* from which we have been hitherto quoting,

they make the following appeal to Wolsey for his advice and instructions as to their conduct at the approaching Christmas in respect to the duke's New-year's gifts—a matter which, as is evident from several pages of the ensuing Inventory, was then esteemed of much importance:—

“We entende at this tyme, if it maye stande with your grace's pleasure, to provyde for the kinges highenes a Newe yeres gifte to bee sente unto his highenes at the begynnyng of this next newe yere from my lorde of Richemounte. And for that purpoos we have sente this berer William Amyas to London for making and for provysion of the same. And howe we shalle use oureselffes therein, for the devise and value thereof, we beseche your grace that this said berer maye knowe your grace's pleasure. And if it maye stande with the same your pleasure that we shalle in like maner provyde any othir Newe yeres giftes, for the quene's grace, the Frenshe quene, the dukes of Norffolke and of Suffolke, and for the marquesses of Excestre and of Dorset, we doo mooste humbly beseche your grace that this berer maye alsoo knowe your pleasure concernyng the same, whiche we have commaunded hym to observe in every behalfe.” This was “written at the castelle of Shirefhutton the fifte day of November,” and signed by Brian Higdon, Wyll'm Parre, Thom's Dalby, W. Frankeleyn, Rycharde Page, and Jo. Uvedale.

On Christmas day (apparently in the same year) we have again a report from the duke's council to Wolsey: “Please it your grace to bee advertised that youre honourable yong and tendre godsonne my lorde of Richemounde is at this present tyme (laudid bee God) in good and prosperous helthe, and as towardly a yong prince as ever hathe been sene in oure tyme: Who in his moste humble wise, at the making of this lettre, besechethe your grace of youre dayely blessing, and of the contynuanee of youre gracious favour towards hym, in like maner as evermore your grace (without any his desert) hathe alweyes bene in tymes passed.” This is dated from Sheriff Hutton, and signed by Will'm Parre, Godffrey Foliambe, Thom's Dalby, W. Frankeleyn, John Palsgrave, William Taite, Richarde Page, and Jo. Uvedale.

but improperly so, for the portion preceding that here printed contains some important particulars relative to the state of the borders. The same observation applies to another in Caligula, B. VII. art. 33, written by the duke's council from Sheriff Hutton on the 22nd of the same month.

There is no positive evidence how the little duke passed the year 1526, except that it appears from a letter of doctor Magnus that on the 13th of September in that year he was still at Sheriff Hutton.* His usual winter quarters were in the castle of Pontefract; and from that place he addressed to his father the greater number of a very interesting series of letters, still preserved in Her Majesty's State Paper Office. Including two to cardinal Wolsey, one of which is in the British Museum, they are altogether thirteen in number, but, as none of them have any year attached to their dates, their order must be in some degree conjectural. Their penmanship is so beautifully fair,† that it does not afford much guide to the arrangement. By that criterion, however, the following, "penned with his own hand," may be regarded as the first in date, and the probability seems to be that it was written in January 1526-7, when he was in his eighth year.

[State Paper Office, Domestic, II. 92.]

After most humble and moste laulye requeste and petetion had unto yowre grace for yowre daylye blissyng, pleas yt the same to be advertysyd I have receyvyd yowre moste honorable and goodly newyerys gyfte, And gyve unto yowre sayde grace most lawlye thanks for the same, Humblye besechynge yowre grace to accept and take thys my lettre pennyd with myne owyne hande for a poore token at thys tyme. At yowre castel off Pountefret, the xiiiith off Januarye.

Yowre humble servant,

H. RYCHEMONDE.

Directed, Unto the kynges hyghenes.

In a letter of dr. Magnus to Wolsey, dated from Pontefract on the 8th Feb. 1526-7, we are told that a servant of the king of Scots had recently arrived there, bringing a letter from his master, and another from the

* "At Shereiff Hooton the 13th day of Septembre. Ymmediately upon the making of this my letter, my lord of Richemountes grace, hering that I sent unto your grace (Wolsey) at this tyme, instauntely required me to recommaunde hym unto your said grace, beseeching youe of your blessing." (State Papers, iv. p. 459.)

† Could ordinary types have represented the penmanship adequately, I should have been glad to exhibit these letters to the reader in fac-simile: but as such attempts are vain, I will merely remark that they are always written with a fine pen, in a remarkably clear Italian hand, retaining a few of the old-fashioned contractions, and writing *u* for *v*, and *v* for *u*. One of the signatures is engraved hereafter, p. lvii.

queen, the king's mother, "conteynnyng boothe oon effecte and purpose, that I wolde doo so myche as to send to the said kyngges grace three or foure cowple of houndes mete for hunting of the haire, fox, and other gretter game, and also a cowple of lyam houndes, being suche as wolde ride behynde men on horsback.

"Immediately upon the receipt of the said twoe letters, I showed thaym to my lorde of Richemondes grace, whose grace did right roundely rede thaym over, and furthwith had a naturall inclynation to doe pleasure to the said king of Scottes.* Wherupon it was thought good to me, and to other of my lordes counsaile being here at that tyme, that, insomyche as my said lordes grace is Warden generall of all the Marches foranenste Scottelande, it shulde therefore be right convenient that my said lordes grace, for demonstration of good love, favour, and kyndnes, to doe pleasure with houndes or any other like thing to the said king of Scottes, specially by cause his grace and the quenes grace his moder wroote boothe for that mater unto me, knowing me to have attending upon my said lordes grace. And over this, in my poor opynyon, I did conjecture the sending hider of the said king of Scottes servaunte was to viset and see my lordes said grace, and to noote the maner, fourme, and facion of his househoolde, bruted in Scotland of right high estimation: Howe be it, at my commyng from oute of Scottelande, I showed booth unto the kingges highnes and to your grace that the said young king was verey desirous to have houndes, and such a person as well couth blowe an horne, to be sent unto hym.

"Thees premisses reasoned and considered amongges us here, my said lord hath written and sent to the said king tenne couple of his oune houndes, in suche maner and wise as your grace shall conceive by the copy of his letter,† whiche with this I sende unto your said grace at this tyme, with other copies of twoe my severall letters nowe sent to the said young king and the quenes grace his moder; trusting noe thing but myche goodnes, perfite love, and favour, by this meanes, shall encrease betwene booth the yong princes (the reader will not fail to remark the writer's courtly flattery in placing the duke of Richmond on a par with the king's

* James the Fifth, who was born in 1512, was at this time in his fifteenth year, and consequently about twice the age of the duke of Richmond.

† This does not seem to be preserved.

nephew of Scotland), provoked furste on the partye of the said king of Scottes by his letters, and the letters also of the quenes grace his moder, sent unto me as is afore saide."

The same letter proceeds to enter very fully into some difficulties of the accompts of the duke's household, which had recently cost the clerk of the green cloth his life: "What with watche, taking of coolde, and thought for this matier, in all our oppynyons here, it was the cause of his death." The said clerk of the green cloth had declared to doctor Magnus, that, besides wages, fees, and liveries, the weekly charge of this household did not exceed the sum of four or five and twenty pounds: but to this the doctor could give no credence, and hence the troubles and anxieties of the unfortunate clerk, which proved so fatal to him.*

By the same messenger was forwarded "To my Lord Legate's grace" a statement † also dated at Pountefret the viijth day of February, and signed by sir William Bulmer and sir Thomas Tempest, the steward and comptroller of the duke's household, advertising "your grace of my lorde of Richmoundes affaires, as well concernynge the order of his householde, as other his causes in thiez partiez." They represent that since the coming of mr. Magnus they had strictly followed the instructions of which he had been the bearer. They then add, "Alle the whole counselle determyned the best meanes to mynshe my lorde of Richemoundes charges and expenses of householde was in avoydinge goode nombre of persones from his service, and in abbredgyng of their wagiez, or in both. Whiche abbredgment of wagies mr. Magnus wolde nott assent, the pleasure of the kynges highnes and of your grace nott first knowen in that byhalve. By thadvise of mr. Magnus and the hoole counselle eighteen personz at one tyme were dischargede owte of my lordes service, somme of them for their offences, and some other of them for that their rowmes were superfluous and nott necessary to be hadde in householde. And nowe of laite

* State Papers, Border Correspondence, iv. 464. Magnus's next letter, written on the 26th of March, relates that "The king of Scottes hath given me grete thanks for inducing acquaintance betweene hym and my lord of Richemoundes grace, and also did gret chere to be made to my lordes servauntes, being a yoman and a grome, sent into Scotland with boundes, and gave to the yoman tenne pound sterling, and to the grome five pound." (Ibid. p. 469.)

† This has been printed at length in Ellis's Original Letters, Third Series, vol. ii. p. 119.

we have receyved dyvers lettres directed from the kynges highnes streytly chargynge us to admytt dyvers of the same person; to my lordes service ageyne with gretter wagies thenne they hadde before." They proceed to state that they had been informed by Wolsey's letters that the duke's lands, fees, and revenues were estimated to amount to the whole sum of four thousand pounds and above; but they had not as yet been able to ascertain their actual value, "for wee or our felowes be nott maide prively to thoose cause;:" and notwithstanding all "the best and most profitable waie; and measne;" they had devised, "by reasone wherof the saide house is in a marvelous goode steve and ordre, yet the charges and expenses now susteigned in the same be nott muche lesse than they were at his first repaire to thie; partie;, whenne alle the noble men and other worshipfulle gentilmen of alle thie; northe countree; dayly reasorted too his lordeshippe in great noubre, And the moost parte of alle his retynewe and servantes contynewally attendynge upon hym, And he as highly extemde (esteemed) in honour as ever was eny yonge prince in thie; partie;."

The unsettled state of the duke's household which the foregoing documents have described naturally made his servants eager to catch at any more permanent preferments that crossed their view; and perhaps at the same time we find the duke writing with his own hand the following letter to the king in favour of one of his yeomen ushers:—

[State Paper Office, Domestic, II. 94.]

Pleas yt yowre hyghenes to bee advertised that for the true and diligent service daily done unto me by my loving servant Robert Markham, yeman-huyssher off my chambre, this berer, I ame ryghte desirous to have hym preferred unto the romes off baillif and keper off the towne and park of Torpell',* lately geven unto me by yowre highenes, where off on John Brede, a man ferre in age, ys nowe offecer. In consideracion whereof, and also for that it hathe not bene my chance as yet hidderto to proferre any oone of my servantes to any maner off promocion other spirituelle or temporalle, in my moost humble and mooste lowly wyse I beseche yowre hyghenes to be so good and gracious lord unto my sayd servant as to

* The manor of Torpell is in Northamptonshire: see Bridges's History of that county, vol. ii. p. 600.

addres yowre moste honoureaable lettres myssynes* unto the said John Brede, willing and desiryng hym by the same that my said servant mought be joynte patent with hym in the said offices, whereby the same servant in tyme comyng shalbe moche more able to doo good service unto me, like as fulle welle and diligently at all tymes he hathe donne. As knowethe the hoolye Trynytie, who evermore have yowre highenes in his mooste blissed presarvacion, my mooste singler good and gracious soverin liage lorde. Writtene at Pontefret the xij daye of February by yowre mooste humble and lowly servant,

Directed, To [the ky]nges highenes.

H. RYCHEMONDE.

On the 3rd March, 1526-7(?), on his vice-chamberlain leaving him to repair to the king's court, the duke was again asked to write to his father, and it was suggested to him that he should now write in his official character of Warden of the Marches. The following brief despatch † was the result:—

[State Paper Office, Border Correspondence, No. 5.]

Pleas it yowre highenes to be advertised, that righte good rule and quyetnes is in thies parties, excepte that the theves of Liddursdale in Scotland have bene steringe of late in the borders towards the mydle marches; for refformation whereof I have written unto the kynge of Scottes; likeas my vice chamberlayne this berer canne reporte unto your highnes; beseeching our Lord God longe to preserve your grace. Wrytten at yowr castelle of Pountefrete the third day of Marche.

Youre lawly servaunte,

Directed, To the kynges highenes.

H. RYCHEMONDE.

The duke writes again on behalf of one of his servants:—

[State Paper Office, Domestic, II. 95.]

Pleas yt yowre grace to be advertysed, Trustyng to preferre good syr William Swalowe my olde chapellayne to a poore lyvyng, I presentyd

* *Sic.*

† The original of this letter is now separated from the rest in the State Paper Office, and placed in the class of Border Correspondence. It is the only one written by the duke of Richmond that was printed by the State Papers Commission, in that series, iv. 467, and the date of 3 March, 1526-7, was there assigned to it.

hym of late unto the vicarage of Fremyngton in yowre countye of Devon, beyng in my gyfte, with yowre gracious favour. Soo yt ys, as my good director Master Thomas Magnos the berer hereof can and wol shewe unto youre grace, that my sayd pore chapleyne ys lyke to lose the same benefice, onles yowre sayd mooste gracious favour bee shewyd to hym yn that partye, whereof mooste humblelye I beseche yowre grace, And that yt may pleas the same at thys presente tyme taccept thys my wrytyng pennyd with myne owne hand for a memorialle concernyng the premysses. And the holye Trinite evermore have yowre hyghnes my mooste drad soverayne lorde yn hys moost blessyd preservation. Wrytten at yowre Castell of Pountefrete the laste day of Aprylle. By yowre moost humble and lowly servante,

H. RYCHEMONDE.

Directed, Unto the kyngges hyghenes.

The next letter may have been written in 1527. It announces the return of doctor Magnus after a visit to court, whence he came laden with presents from the king for his boy:—

[State Paper Office, Domestic, II. 115.]

Pleas yt yowre mooste noble grace to wete, I have receved yowre mooste honorable lettres, and the riche and goodly Apparell sent unto me frome yowre highenes by mayster Magnus Director off my counsaile, mooste humbly and mooste lowly thanking yowre said highenes for the same, and according to the contynue and purpoort off yowre said mooste honorable lettres, I shall applie and incline me to my lernig,* and to procede in vertue w^t the helpe off God in the best that I canne. Beseching yowre said highenes of yowre daily blessing, and as I am mooste gretely bounden I shalle pray to God for yowre prousperous estate and preservacion. At my Castelle off Shereff hooton the xxth day off July, w^t the hand off yowre mooste lowly servant,

H. RYCHEMONDE.

Directed, Unto the kinges highenes.

On the 7th September in that year a letter† of Magnus, Parre, and Uvedale, was dated from the manor of Medley, or Methley, near Pontefract, where the duke was possibly then resident.

* *Sic.*

† State Papers, iv. 476.

Some letters which were addressed by doctor Croke, the duke's schoolmaster, to Wolsey, afford a further very interesting insight into the economy of this princely household, with all its jealousies and bickerings, and also into the system of education which was then customary in the higher ranks of society. It appears that the duke was not educated alone, but several young noblemen were brought together to be his schoolfellows, to set him an example of diligence, to excite him to emulation, and further by the punishments they received, to let him see what he deserved, that he might in some measure dread the like discipline, even if he did not sustain it in his own person.*

For some time the progress of "the prince," as he is styled by Croke,† had been greatly to his satisfaction. At eight years of age he could translate any passage of Cæsar, with a due appreciation both of grammar and expression: and the doctor had conceived the highest hopes of his future progress, when his studies were disturbed chiefly by the interference of one of his attendants named Cotton,‡ who is charged with exhibiting a general enmity towards the duke's literary studies, and especially to his prosecution of Latin. He was constantly putting off the lessons, and withdrawing the boys to out-door amusements. He would not permit the

* So, Barnaby FitzPatrick, it will be remembered, was the fellow pupil of Edward the Sixth, and, according to report, the recipient of his chastisements. A contemporary dramatist furnishes a remarkable illustration of this practice, as will be seen in an Additional Note hereafter.

† Doctor Richard Croke to Cardinal Wolsey (from the original in the State Paper Office, Wolsey Correspondence, iii. 74):—

Si diutius velim vivere, quam tuæ Celsitudini fideliter et libenter inservire, perdat me male, cum malis demoniis, optimus deus. Sed hic non est ubi hujus meæ in te pietatis justum aliquod exhibuero specimen, Reverendissime Domine, nisi justitia tua illorum velit reprimere furorem, qui et principis et teneros condiscipulorum animos astutissimis commentis in literarum pariter ac sacerdotum odium quotidie impellere moliantur. Quorum princeps est Cotonus principis mei admissionalis.‡ Qui alleganti mihi tuæ Celsitudinis de principis formandis studiis decreta, respondere nihil est veritus, quod ego (nominis tui reverentia) non referrem, nisi et mea in tuam Celsitudinem fides id exigeret: et ille semper sic ageret, ut non modo dixisse sed etiam semper sensisse (quod dixit)

‡ George Coton at this time held an office which Croke described by the Latin word "admissionalis," probably that of gentleman usher. He retained his paramount influence over the duke's establishment, and was latterly his "governour." See a document given at the close of this memoir: and an Additional Note.

duke to rise at six, nor to learn at all before mass, and almost throughout the summer he had set aside the arrangement of time prescribed by the cardinal. He had even rescued from punishment the boys by example of whom it was necessary to restrain the young lord's faults, and had taken under his protection both their and the prince's idleness. After trying more friendly means of expostulation, the pedagogue at length had claimed the cardinal's authority, and set forth some of the orders received from him; to which Cotton warmly replied, that "My lord cardinal will not dare to maintain those orders if the king choose to dispute them with him." He further openly declared, in the prince's presence, that Croke should have no access to him, except at the time of teaching. Yet the same man, so careful in driving away the schoolmaster, readily admitted fools and players, who sang their indecent ballads before the prince in his privy chamber. He never reproved those who, in the prince's presence, attributed all kinds of wickedness to priests, and wished them every mischief; omitting no opportunity of drawing upon them hatred and contempt. (In this we perhaps have an intimation of the fore-shadows of the Reformation.) So thoroughly had he influenced the prince, that he

videretur. Res ita habet, cum ille neque permitteret, ut sexta surgeret principi, neque ut ante sacrum disceret, et omnes mihi fere per totam superiorem ætatem a tua amplitudine prescriptas horas auferret. Posteaque per hyemem, pueros quorum metu domini errores coercere fuit necesse, non modo a me pro arbitrio abstraheret, sed illorum pariter atque principis negligentia patrocineretur. Victus tanta malitiæ inprobitate, pro Christiana modestia hominem seduco, compello sive arbitris amice officii admoneo, tandem tuam auctoritatem interpono, et mandata quædam expono. Ad quæ ille excandescens,

Non audebit (inquit) ista asserere D. Cardinalis, si his de rebus rex cum illo velit disputare. At ne laboret fides mea (quod uni mihi hæc dixerit) palam mihi omnem (quam ad ipsa docendi tempora) ad principem interdixit accessum, et tum dicenti mihi aliter visum esse tuæ Celsitudini, ita publice, et palam, et coram principe, respondit,

Quoniam Regem allegas, nisi ad me (hæc de re) ab illo certificatorias adferas, scias te nunquam (quam ad docendi tempora) ad principem ingressurum. At hic tam in Preceptore arcendo diligens, libenter patitur scurras et mimos (qui digna lupanari in sacro cubiculo coram principe cantillent) admitti.

Nihil reprehendit eos, qui sacerdotibus (coram principe) nihil non impingant sceleris, nihil non optent calamitatis. Scilicet quo (ut dixit Horatius) Quo semel est imbuta recens conservet odorem Testa diu.

Certe ad allatum a Celsitudine tua mandatum ita excanduit, ita ad auctoritatem tuam indignatus est, ut nunquam interim intermiserit quod vel tuum mandatum eluderet, vel

applied less willingly to his learning than anything, disregarding alike his master's praises and threats, so that there was an end to his studies, unless the cardinal could devise a remedy. For what might not be expected from a boy who had been already taught to say, "Master, if you beat me I will beat you!" And might he not well think he could say so with impunity, when he saw that his schoolfellows, though so much inferior to him, were allowed by the servants of his privy chamber not only to vilify their master behind his back, but even to abuse him to his face, and observed that, when they came for correction, they were taken out of his hands by grooms, who asserted that it was improper to unbreech them before so great a prince, and that they ought to be taken into a bed-chamber to be flogged. The groom who had done this was one Twyford, a kinsman of Cotton, and no doubt by Cotton's direction.

Among the boys, one Scrope had especially provoked the pedagogue's wrath. He is pronounced to be utterly inapt for all studies becoming a prince. Though Croke had formerly, with the utmost kindness, given him instruction in Latin, he had been forbidden to learn further by Cotton

me, et literas, et sacerdotes omnes, in omne odium atque contemptum apud principem traheret. Planeque eo perduxit principem ut nulli rei gravantius incumbat quam literis, ut doctus nihil quidquam advertat, laudes juxta et minas omnes meas contemnat, ut nisi tua prudentia saluberrimas istas manus tuas ocyus admoverit huic malo, actum sit de studiis principis, non sine magno meo preceptoris malo. Quid enim non fecerit adultus, qui per jocum docetur nunc dicere mihi, Preceptor, si tu me verberes ego te verberabo. Et cur non putet se debere mihi impune ista dicere, cum pueros se multis gradibus inferiores, suos condiscipulos, suos ministros* arridentibus et confirmantibus illos ad hoc (qui a sacro principis cubiculo sunt) audiat non modo a tergo lacerare me, sed etiam in os mihi convitiari, et (ubi a me castigandi veniunt) mihi e manibus eripi a gromis, non absque minis, et his coram principe expostulationibus, Quid tu nudaveris puerorum nates coram tanto principe? Non facies. Abduc ergo (si velis) in cubiculum flagellandum hunc. Qui hæc fecit Twyfordus gromus erat, Cotoni cognatus, nec dubium Cotoni consilio. Porro cum, rapiente ad castigationem puerum me, per indignationem cubiculum exiret Cotonus, illi successit Twyfordus.

Est hic Scropus quidam, puer ineptus ad omnia digna principe studia, olim a me Rhomanam literaturam doctus, summa clementia, sed ne amplius a me disceret in hoc a Cotono et aliis vetitus, ut exemplo malo et pueros ceteros corrumpere, et dominum ad me contemnendum provocaret. Nec defuit Cotoni consiliis hactenus Scropus. Nam et apud alios pueros Rhomanam literaturam atque linguam mirifice vituperat, et in me pueros (ut

* *Sic. Qu.?* suis ministris.

and the rest; and he had done his best to depreciate the study with the other boys. This Scrope had not only uttered the worst things against the doctor, but had even loudly abused him in the church, calling him bastard, fool, rogue, mope, and a thousand other naughty names: he had moreover gone so far as to thrash a well-disposed boy who had recently been sent there by the king, and who lodged with Croke, daring him to tell that to the doctor.

If Croke attempted to admonish the other idle ones, Cotton was always at hand to expostulate, and in their presence and the prince's to exclaim that noble boys were not to be treated so strictly, defending their faults and errors in every possible way, and taking off some of them to hunt, walk, or sit with him; not allowing them to ask previous leave of their master. He further forbade rising much before light in winter to those who, to some number, slept with him in the prince's privy chamber, surely to the greatest peril of their lord should any attack of infectious sickness occur. To the same boys he was so indulgent as not to allow them to go to school at night, to do which with a better pretext he for some time undertook to set the prince a lesson, but entirely with the object to keep the boys to himself. Moreover, when Croke, forbidden to administer present punishment, found it necessary to threaten it in prospect, Cotton had not

sint obstinati) animatur; et a tergo pessime de me loquitur, et Trinitatis proxima, herens in ecclesia principis velo, mihi convitiatus est, et ita fuisse convitiatum in me se gloriatus est. Vocaverat enim me altissimo et barbaram quandam sævitiam spirante voce, Nothum, Nebulonem, Improbum, Melancholicum, et mille alia id genus scelerata nomina. Omnino hic puer eo superbiæ atque audaciæ progressus est ut puerum bona indole a rege huc recens missum cedat pulsetque indigne, illud occinens inter cedendum (puer enim apud me cubat) dic doctori.

Sed nunc veniamus ad reliquos. Hos obstinate negligentes, si quando in terrorem principis admoneam liberius, aut contingam levius, hic non deest suo instituto Cottonus, sed continuo aliquandiu jurgare me, et ipsis coram et principe clamitare, non tam rigide tractandos nobiles pueros, meam austeritatem incusare, vitia et errata puerorum modis omnibus defendere, interim nulla mea venia, sed plerumque etiam me invito, abducere quoslibet, venatum, expatiatum, commessatum secum. Non permittere ut a lectione abfuturi, aut a lectione discessuri, veniam a me petant. Denique non permittere in hyeme ut ante multam lucem surgant, qui cum illo, in sacro principis cubiculo, maximo certe (si qua egritudinis tristioris oriretur procella), domini periculo, cubant. In hos tam clemens ut ne noctu ad me docendos eos unquam venire permittat. Quod ut faceret speciosiori titulo adhibuit construenti lectionem traditam, singulis noctibus principi, aliquandiu;

hesitated to send messages by the boys themselves that if so and so were beaten, he would not permit him to come any longer for instruction. On that very plea he had kept away a good boy enough for a period of three months. But what affronted Croke as much as anything, he had endeavoured to instil into the boys a dislike to the Roman hand in which they had learned from him to write (and in which the little duke became such a proficient), and had himself taught them the secretary hand,—but in what fashion, adds Croke, you may judge from his own autograph! By these arts he had brought all the boys to regard their master so lightly, that when they went to hunt they thought it sufficient to signify their going by a messenger, and, were Croke to refuse, they did not hesitate to say that he had no concern with them out of lesson-time: and so they could be absent from lessons by merely asking leave of Cotton, whenever and as often as they pleased.

The pedagogue pursues his lamentation by representing the injurious effects which these doings had upon the prince. None of the cardinal's injunctions were observed; but, in the absence of the director of the council (Magnus), Cotton had utterly disregarded the whole of them, passing on Croke the grossest insults because he wished to enforce them. He first forbade the prince to write to the king or the cardinal, to doctor Magnus or to Page, anything at Croke's dictation. He then would not

verum ita ut nihil modo quam illum, noctu quoquo libeat, comitentur. Porro ubi veterit coram principe tangere, et istos necesse habuerim minitari, daturus interim apud me penam, non dubitavit pueris nunciis significare, si hunc aut hunc verberem, eum (quisquis fuerit) non permissurum se, ut amplius ad me docendus veniat. Quo nomine, bonum aliqui puerum, ad tertium olim mensem, imperiose a me detinuit. Nec hæc satis nocuisse contentus, animari pueros ut (quam a me dedicere scribere) Rhomanam contemnant et in meum contemptum dediscant. Sed neque hic diligentiae fucus maliciæ deest Nam ipse secretariam ipsos docet Qualem autem ex ipsius autographo licet judicare. Quibus artibus in eum mei contemptum universos pueros adduxit, ut progressuri venatum satis habeant nuncio significare se ituros, et (si ego negem) nihil dubitare quin respondeant mihi nihil, extra lectionem, esse cum illis negotii. Itaque velle petita a Cotonio venia (et quando et quoties liberit) a lectione abesse.

Sed quibus artibus domini in literis profectui obstat operæ pretium fuerit audire, quod ut commodius aperiā necesse est hinc ordiar et dicam quo res est, scilicet nihil hactenus omnium mandatorum tuorum servatum esse, immo absente Moderatore consiliorum, altissime Cotonio contempta omnia, illatis mihi (quia voluerim exequi) gravissimis injuriis. Primo enim interdiciere principi, ne ad regiam Majestatem, ne ad tuam Celsitudinem, ne

allow any writing before dinner, although that was the only convenient time; but he would set the prince to it after dinner before lessons, to his double injury, first, because by stooping and too long occupation with his pen, he became so wearied that he was rendered wholly incapable of study, for, his strength being exhausted, his mind grew listless with everything, his apprehension was dulled, and, with evident pain both of stomach and head, his eyes were stiff and filled with tears; and also because, on this pretence, the prince's autograph letters were procured for Cotton's advantage or favour; and, without the knowledge of the councillors or consent of Croke, they were sent, perhaps to the neighbouring abbats for hawks, or trifles of that sort, the prince's dignity being compromised, contrary to the orders Wolsey had given. Frequently Cotton would take the duke out from dinner to practise archery, and thus rendered him by fatigue little fit for his books, and indeed so idle that he would sometimes purposely stick at what he knew perfectly well, and not proceed any further; on which occasion, if Croke at all chid him, Cotton would immediately interfere and say, "Why do you scold so? my lord has done well. The passage is too difficult: he made a mistake. What can you expect? he will make some mistakes:" and anon, as if by his authority, the prince was torn away from his master, and the lesson broken off with caresses. "Often (adds Croke) not only without my

ad D. Magnum et Pageum, aliquid litterarum me autore scribat. Deinde (quod ad exercendam principis literaturam tempus commode unicum est) non pati ut ante prandium a lectione ego illam exerceam. Ceterum id facit ipse a prandio ante lectionem, duplici principis detrimento: primo, quia procumbendo, et nimia scribendi mora, principem sic fatiget interim, ut prorsus ad literas eundem reddat inutilem, quia, viribus exhaustis, animus langueat ad omnia, ingenium obtundatur, et manifestissima stomachi pariter et capitis noxa, oculo interim rigescant et illachrymentur. Deinde, quia hoc colore volent ad quoslibet in Cotonum commodum aut favorem principis autographæ, et ignavis consiliariis et me invito puta ad abbates pro accipitribus et id genus nugis, contra quod tua Celsitudo jusserat, prostituta principis dignitate. Ut omittam quod de industria dominum sæpe eduxerit a prandio sagittatum, ut fatigatione redderet parum ad literas idoneum, illud certe majoris est momenti, quam ut a me (salve fide) taceri debeat, scilicet quia hujus vitio eo aliquando obstinate negligentiae perducatur dominus, ut de industria circa optime nota hereat, nihil omnino pergat. Quo tempore si quid ego increpui, statim occurrere castigationi Cotonus, "Quid adeo increpitas? Bene fecit dominus, Nimis difficilis locus est. Erravit, quid vis? Iterum errabit." Interim sua quasi autoritate a me avellere principem, neque sine oculis lectionem abrumperet. Sæpe me non modo ignaro,

knowledge, but even contrary to my wishes, he has allowed the prince to play, forsooth that, with ill-will towards me, he might win the fullest favour for himself." This long diatribe is concluded with an earnest appeal to the cardinal for his interference, without which it was imagined that the prospects of the duke's education were entirely ruined. The several grievances, and the proposed means for their correction, were also embodied in the following "articles" in plain English* :—

Moste humbely besechithe your grace your orator and daylie bedeman Richard Croke scole master to the duke of Rychemonde, that yt wolde please your grace of your most habundant goodnes to directe your most gracios lettres of comaundement unto my lorde of Richemondes counsell comprysinge these articles followinge :

First, the quantytie of tyme whiche I shalle daylie occupie with my lorde in lerenynge by your grace appoyntid, the said counsell parmyt and suffer me to have accesse unto hym oone hower before masse and brekefast accordynge to your grace's former comaundemente. The rest of the tyme of ynstruccyon of my saide lorde to be taken at my discreccion, and

sed veluti invito, ludos permittere principi, scilicet ut mea mala gratia amplissimum mereatur ipse a principe favore. Quod nisi hujus commentis tuæ Celsitudinis autoritate occurratur, quid ego ab immensis meis in principem et reliquos nobiles pueros laboribus expectem aliud, quam ipsorum extremum odium, Regis pariter ac tuam indignationem? Quippe quum ab anno hinc nihil quicquam literarum sit habiturus princeps meus, cujus ego ingenium hactenus non immerito supra omnium estimationem extuli, alacritatem predicavi. An non hoc miraculum est? octennem jam puerum ubivis locorum Cæsarem posse Anglicè interpretari, structuræ lege pariter ac arte ad unguem servata. At hoc tantum, nihil est præ eo quod jam nullo ferme negotio prestisset in Rhomana lingua, nisi Cotoniani doli obstitissent, qui magna technarum ambage non cessat principem avertere a litteris, et puerorum malo exemplo sic corrumpere optimam indolem ut nisi fuisset optima, jam olim preceptorem fuisset indignata et literas habuisset exosas. Hæc sæpe expostulans, sæpe questus, nihil proficio. Itaque stat fructus principis, de quo magna spes erat fore, ut ante biennium sic utramque calleret linguam ut suapte et quodam ipsarum amore ad eas ferretur. Jam nisi tua Celsitudo juverit plane despero et ipsius fructum, et proinde (quod maximum meorum laborum expecto premium), et tuam et regiam, et principis alumnii omnem gratiam. Deus te servet, Reverendissime domine. Pontefretti, vii. kal. Junii.

TUÆ CELSITUDINI

Directed, To my lord legates good Grace.
Indorsed, From M. Croke, the vj. of July.

addictissimus,
R. Crocus.

* Previously published by Sir Henry Ellis in the Third Series of his Original Letters.

as I shall perceyve most convenyent, and my saide lorde most apte to lerne. Provided that no more tyme by me be occupied in oone daye then by your grace shalbe appoynted. Ne that I so remytt eny parte of the same, that thereby my lordes lernynge may decaye.

Seconde that where as my said lorde is forced to wryte of his owen hande to abbottes and meane parsons contrary to your grace's comaundement; and that ymedyatly after his dynner and repast taken, to the grete dullynge of his wyttes, sprytes, and memory, and no litell hurte of his hed, stomak, and body; and that yt were very necessary in my pore judgement my saide lorde shuld wryte noo thing of his owen hande but in Latten specially to the kyngs highenes and your moste noble grace, to thentent he myght more fermely imprynte in his mynde both wordes and phrases of the Latten tonge, and the soner frame hym to some good stile in wrytinge, whereunto he is now very rype; yt wolde please your grace therefore to determyn and appoynte both certayne persons, and also certayne tymes in the weke, to whome only, and when, my saide lorde shall wryte either in Englishe or in the Latten tonge, as your highe wisdom shall thinke moste convenyente. Provided the said exercise of his hande and stile in both the tonges be comytted oonly to the discreccion and ordre of me his scole master; and that no man may force hym to wryte oonles I be there presente, to dyrecte and forme his said hande and stile.

Thirdely that where as by example of good education, as well in noryture as good lernyng, of suche yonge gentilmen as by your graces comaundement be attendant upon my said lorde, the same myghte more facyly be inducd to profit in his lerenynge, yt wolde please your grace to gyve comaundemente that the instruction of the said gentilmen be at the only order and disposicion of the scole master, so that they be streytely comaundid to applye their lernynge at such tymes as I shall thinke convenient withoute mayntenaunce of eny man to the contrary. And also that none of them ne any other be sufferid to contynue in my lordes chamber duryng the tyme of his lernynge, but such only as the said scole master shall thinke mete for the furtherance of the same.

Fourthly, yt wolde please your grace in likewise to comande that the tyme of my lordes lernynge by your grace appoyntid be not interruptid for every tryefull, or reasorte of every stranger, but only strangers of honour, to whome also if my said lorde myght by the advise of his scole-

master exhibit and make some shew of his lernyng, like as he was wont and doth of his other pastymes, it shulde greatly encourage hym to his lernyng; to the which, bycause it is moste laborious and tedyous to children, his grace shulde be most specially anymated and encouraged.

Fynally, that no wayes, color, ne crafte be taken to discourage, alenate, or averte my said lordes mynde from lernyng, or to extyncte the love of lernynge in his estymacion, but that he be induced most highly to esteeme his boke of all his other studies. The which thing with other the premisses obteyned, I dare be bolde to assure your grace that his lernyng at the sighte of your grace shall with no litel tyme (*sic*), and much pleasure hymself, farr surmounte and passe the knowledge of eny childe of his yeres, tyme, and age, noone excepte.

To my lorde legates good grace.

The preceding letter from Croke was received by Wolsey on the 6th of July (probably in 1527), and about seven months after (in Feb. 1527-8) Croke wrote again to the cardinal,* directing now his complaints against sir William Parr, the duke's chamberlain, who supported Cotton in his behaviour. He assures Wolsey, however, that Parr, with all his efforts, had been unable to induce the councillors to address letters to the king in Cotton's favour. Parr had since threatened that he would lessen Croke's credit with the king and the cardinal; but, conscious of his good meaning, Croke merely solicited that Parr's complaints of him, and his of Cotton and Parr, might be committed to the examination of the council, or of three of them—Parr and Taite alone excepted.

* Doctor Richard Croke to cardinal Wolsey (Wolsey Correspondence, iii. 78).

Non facerem officium meum, Reverendissime Domine, si celarem Celsitudinem tuam non potuissem Parrhum (licet id modis omnibus contendisset) a principis consiliariis extorquere literas ad Regem in Cotoni favorem, Verebantur enim viri sapientissimi ne ejusmodi suo testimonio vel innocentiae meae vel sacrosanctae gravitati tuae (qui mea fide Cotoni crimina Regi aperueras) vis aliqua fieret. Quorum nihil metuens Parrhus, immo magnopere indignatus se hac nocendi spe dejectum, minatus est meam fidem, cum apud Regiam tum vero maxime apud tuam Majestatem, se irritaturum. At ego optime mihi conscius nihil fidei, nihil causae metuo, immo obsecro atque obtestor aequitatem tuam, ut universas Parrhi de me, et meas item de Cotono et illo querelas, vel universis consiliariis vel tribus quibuslibet (Parrho duntaxat et Tato exceptis) committas examinandas. Et facile viderit aequitas tua, nec me vanum esse (ut isti predicant), et pertinacem horum invicem defensionem neque synceram esse, et rei ducalis maximo dispendio Parrhianaeque negligentiae totam inniti.

He tells the cardinal that he would scarcely believe how great a quantity of the prince's corn, malt, wine, ale, beef, mutton, veal, venison, salt-meat, fish, and every kind of provision, had, within two years, been squandered by the Cottons, as well in presents to their friends, as especially in providing for the family of Parr, of all which not a fifth part appeared in the prince's accounts; and that this had occurred by the fraud of Richard Cotton,* the clerks of the duke's kitchen could prove, provided they were bound by oath under the cardinal's authority to do so, as otherwise they would not dare to whisper in a business of such importance.

Croke proceeds to say that, since his arrival, Parr had been absent at intervals for sixty-six whole weeks; that he was then away, and not, as he heard, to return before Easter; and when resident he was very seldom at home, and never in his proper function, but wholly engaged in hawking and hunting. Parr had given additional offence to the pedagogue by calling the duke before him, and strictly enjoining him that he should cease to repeat to his master after supper the things taught him during the day, that he should never be alone with him, nor attend to him in any thing but at lessons, adding that the king did not choose that Croke should have the power to give him holidays; finally, to the exclusion of Croke, he had appointed his little nephew † to say matins and vespers with the prince when Cotton was absent. These orders had such effect that the prince, in Cotton's absence, would not mind the entreaties, coax-

Neque enim crediderit Celsitudo tua, quantam vim Frumenti, Hordei macerati, Vini, Cervisie, Bubalæ, Ovinæ, Vitulinæ, Ferinæ, Salsamentorum, Piscium, et omnis omne genus viatici, intra biennium principi prodegere Cotoni, eum in condonandis amicis, tum vero maxime in alenda Parrhi familia. Quorum tamen omnium, ne quintam quidem in principis extare rationariis, idque imperiosa fraude Richardi Cotoni, ducalis culinæ notarii probaturos se adfirmant, modo ad id faciendum tua autoritate sacramento obstringi queant, alioqui ne hiscere quidem in re tanti momenti illorum metu ausuri.

Jam ab adventu meo sexaginta sex solidas ebdomodas per intervalla Parrhus hinc abfuit, et jam abest, ante pascha (ut audio) non redditurus, et (ut adfuerit aliquando) rarissime domi, nunquam in justo ministerio, sed totus in aucupio et venatione fuit. Quale ergo iste vel contra me, vel pro Cotono testimonium dixerit, (cujus absentia ut meæ diligentiae fraudi sit), his artibus hinc discedens, rem tractavit Parrhus. Dominum coram me accersit, et eidem etiam coram me arctissime imperat ne Cotono absente (quod conserverat) in diem tradita a cena mihi reddat, ne mecum unquam solus sit, neu quavis in re

* Richard Cotton, brother to George, was comptroller of the household.

† This "little nephew" was very probably William afterwards marquess of Northampton.

ings, or threats of either Ambrose the usher, one of the best-natured of men, nor of the woman his nurse, nor of Croke himself when teaching. "Your foresight (he concludes by telling Wolsey) will easily divine to what all this will lead. I vastly fear lest a disposition of the best promise, with a great proof of my diligence, may at last be ruined under such masters, who measure everything for their own pleasure and profit, and nothing for the advantage of their lord."

In following the pedagogue's complaints it is impossible not to commiserate his degraded position, though, after the bad usage of the day, he evidently was inclined to practise needless severity towards his pupils; and it is strange to see in the despised schoolmaster of the castle of Sheriff Hutton, the same man who had previously succeeded the great Erasmus as reader of Greek at Cambridge, and who was afterwards employed by the king on the continent in the important matter of his divorce.

Dr. Croke's second letter was directed to the lord legate's own hands on the 6th of February. We are not informed what immediate reply he received; but he continued with the duke until the following October, when, a successor having been appointed (whose name does not occur), he took his departure with the following commendatory epistle, in which, after all his troubles, his merits were duly acknowledged by his princely pupil:—

[State Paper Office, Domestic, II. 105.]

Affir mooste humble piticion made unto youre gratius highenes for youre daily blissinge, it may please youre said highenes to understande,

quam lectione mihi audiat; adjecit non placere Regi ut mea venia unquam ludat. Denique (excluso me) puellulum nepotem qui cum principe (absente Cotono) Matutinas vespertinasque dicat, assignat. Quibus preceptis id effecit ut nec Ambrosii admisionalis, boni imprimis viri, nec mulieris nutricis, sed neque mei preceptoris, ullis precibus, blanditiis, aut minis ut docti mihi (Cotono absente) princeps animum advertat. Tua prudentia ista quorsum evaserint facile divinaverit. Ego magnopere metuo, ne ingenium longe optimum et felicissimum magna meæ diligentiae nota perierit tandem, his magistris, qui sua voluptate utilitateque omnia, nihil domini commodo metiuntur. Bene valeat Celsitudo tua. Scheriffhuttoni, viij. idus Februarij.

TUE CELSITUDINI

addictissimus clientulus,

Richardus Crocus.

Directed, To my lord legates good grace ouyne handes.

Seal, an antique gem of Mercury.

that accordinge to your mooste gratius commaundement Maister Doctor Croke, thys berer, Repairithe at this season unto youre saide highenes, And, forasmuche as he hathe taken bothe payne, Labour, and diligence tenduce me in Lerninge, wherby I trust in tyme commynge to be more able to serve youre said highenes, I therfore, considerynge also that I have a newe scolemaister, and (that notw^tstandinge) the said maister Doctor Croke is inclined allwayes to continue his espeeielle favoure towardis me here aftere, in my mooste humble and mooste lowly wise beseche your highenes to be good and gracious lord unto hyme, the rather at thys my humble pursute and supplicacion. And the holie Trynitie evermore have youre gratius highenes in his mooste blessed tuicion and governance. Written at youre Castelle of Pountefret the xxvj daye of Octobre by youre mooste humble and moost lowly servante,

Directed, Unto the Kinges highenes.

H. RYCHEMONDE.

On the 31st Jan. 1527-8, the duke wrote two letters, to the king and the cardinal, both of which have been preserved. The object of both was to make earnest request that he might be furnished with "an harness," or suit of armour appropriate to his years, which he appears to have been promised in reward for his diligence in studying the Commentaries of Julius Cæsar.

[State Paper Office, Domestic, II. 93.]

In moost humble and lawly wyse I beseche yowre highenes off yowre dayly blyssynge, In lyke wyse prayng the same to be advertysed that I effectually gyve myne hole endeavour, mynde, study, and pleasuyre to the diligent appliaunce of alle sucche sciences and feates off lernynge, as by my moost lovyng counsellours I am daylye advertysed to stand with yowre moost hyghte and gratius pleasuyre. Therefore makynge moost humble and lawly intercession unto the same to remembre me yowre moost humble and lawly servant with on harnes for my exercise yn armys accordyng to my lernyng yn Julius Cæsar. Trustyng yn God as spedily and profitably to prosper yn the same as yowre grace shal perseve that I have done yn al myne other lernynges. Wheroff my ryght trusty and ful entyrelly welbelovyd Mr. Magnus director of my couynsel can mak credible report. And thus the moost glorious trynytye have yowe, my mooste drad and

soverayne lord, yn hys moost gracious tuition. At yowre Castel off Pontefrete, the laste day off Januarye.

Youre most lawly servant,

H. RYCHEMONDE.

Directed, Unto the kyngges mooste gracious hyghenes.

[State Paper Office, Wolsey Correspondence, X. 2.]

In moost humble wyse I desyer your good grace off yowre dayly blessinge, advertysynge the same that I have writen unto the kynges hyghnes, makynge my mooste humble intercession unto the same, for on harnes to exercyse my selff yn armys accordyng to my erudition in the commentaries off Cæsar. In mooste humble wyse besechyng yowre sayde grace to be meane for me unto the kynges hyghenes yn thys behalfe. And my trust ys that I shall as wel yn thys thyng as yn all other my lernynges so do my diligens and endeavour that yt shalbe to the hyghe contentation as well off the kynges sayd hyghenes as off yowre grace. And thus owre moost marcyfull savywr in Christ have yow, my moost honorable lord and lovyng godfather, yn hys moost blessyd and perpetual protection. At Pontefret the last day off Januarye.

Yowre ful humble godsone:

H. RYCHEMONDE.

Directed, Unto my lorde Legate's good grace.

Indorsed, From the duke of Richemond, ultima Januarii, 1527.

Whilst the duke of Richmond's present life was thus checquered only by the alternat frowns of his schoolmaster and the blandishments of his more indulgent courtiers, his future destiny already entered into the speculations of political diplomacy. The balance of European power had been unsettled by the victories of Charles the Fifth, and the capture of the French king at the battle of Pavia. In the course of the year 1527 Rome itself was sacked by the invaders, and the holy father became a captive. At an earlier period of this struggle the territory of Milan had been conquered by the Spaniards, and Francesco Sforza, its duke, surrendered the citadel of his capital on the 24th July, 1526. During the progress of these events the English monarch indulged a variety of visionary schemes for his own aggrandisement at the expense of some of the losing parties; and, as Lord Herbert "gathered, out of some treaties between the king and the

emperor, he laboured to make his natural son FitzRoy, duke of Richmond, duke of Milan, upon some advantageous conditions proposed to that end."*

A letter of Wolsey, published by the State Papers Commission, throws further light upon this statement. But somewhat earlier in point of date is a letter of sir John Russell, addressed to the king from Rome on the 11th Feb. 1526-7, in which it is stated, "The saying is here that mons^r. de Vaudemontes commyng hither was to have the pope's nyce,† and that the duke of Albany laborith asmuch as he can that the king of Scottes shuld have her, and the duke of Ferrare in like wise laboreth for his son. Then I showed sir Gregory [de Casales] that I thought she shuld be a mete marriage for my lorde of Richemounde, and so amongst other communications we asked the datary whether mons^r. de Vaudemont went about such thinges or noo, and he said nay. We said than that, if the pope's holines wold marry her to have good alliaunce, we knew where he shuld bistow her better than of anny that is yet rehersed, vizt. upon a duche in Ingland, that might spend as much as two of the best of them. And he perceyvid straichte whome we ment, and thought that the pope's holines woldbe very wel contentyd to have suche alliaunce. We said we had no commission to speke of no suche thinges, but that we did was upon our owne myndes. Yf your highnes thinke this mete, please you to advertise us of your pleasure in that behalf."‡

At the same period the English ambassadors with the emperor were instructed to make the like advances in that quarter. Their account of a personal interview with the emperor has been already given.§ They proceeded from him immediately to his minister the count de Nassau, who was prepared to discuss the subject with them. "For a convenient marriage for the duke of Richmond," says Lee, "he asked me whom I thought meet. I answered I had little knowledge of the emperor's blood. He said the emperor hath the queen of Denmark's daughters, his nieces, how think you by them? I said I know not what shall please the king, ne we have commission to speak of any person, but I trow I have heard

* Herbert's M.S. Collections, vol. ii. p. 155, as quoted in Nott's Life of Surrey, p. xxxvi.

† A daughter, I believe, of Magnifico Juliano de' Medici. She was still unmarried in 1533, when the duke of Orleans was likely to have her. State Papers, vii. 427.

‡ State Papers, vol. vi. p. 564.

§ See p. xiv.

that the dowager of Portugal * hath a daughter. Ee, saith he, but she is for the dolphin, by the treaty of Madrid.

"I forgatt afor he said, touching the marriage of the duke of Richmond, We will offer you no bastard. The emperor bestowed one with the heir of the duke of Ferrara, and gave with her the country of Carpio, worth ten thousand ducats by year, and yet we have another born in Spain."

Later in the same year, we find Wolsey pursuing the scheme of asking for the emperor's niece, "the daughter of Portugal." To a letter which he wrote from Compeigne, on the 11th Sept. 1527, addressed to doctor Lee and sir Francis Poyntz, the English ambassadors in Spain, he attached the following postscript, of which the passages printed in italic were written in cypher:—

"Post scripta. After this my letters writen and dated, to thintent theemperour and his counsail might the better consider suche reasons and persuasions as therein be conteigned, by meanes wherof he should the rather be induced, at the king's contemplacion, to remyt the having of Mylaine for hym self, I thought convenient that the same my letters should be translated into Frenche for your better informacion, to thintent that ye merking and takeing out suche sentences and clauses as may exasperate the said emperour for the composing of thentended purpose, ye may showe unto hym the same clauses, not forgetting in any wise to renew *and cal upon the mater of the duke of Richmond's mariage to the doughter of Portingale, and the gifte of the duchy of Mylayn in contemplacion of the same mariage ; setting forth in suche wise and mater as the French ambassadors take no jelousye or suspicion therby,* and by all possible means *to experiment whider the emperour dothe meane good faythe therin or no ;* supposing that, nowe he shalbe informed of this *indissoluble conjunccon betwene the French king and the kinges highnes, the said emperour doth minde nothing les in erthe than the sayd duchy shold be given to the duke of Richmond ; nevertheles* it shalbe righte expedient by all convenable waies *to taste and prove what the emperour's intencion and minde is in this behalf."* †

* Catharina Posthuma, widow of John III. of Portugal, another sister of the emperor. Her daughter Mary was subsequently the first wife of Philip II. of Spain. The dauphin at this time was afterwards Henry II., who married Catharine de' Medici.

† State Papers, vol. vi. p. 605.

It was therefore at some time in the year 1527 that this project of making the duke of Richmond duke of Milan had been mooted in the negociations between Henry and the emperor: subsequently, in 1534, the emperor restored the duke Francesco Sforza, giving him in marriage his niece the daughter of Christian II. king of Denmark, but when the duke died without issue in the following year,* Milan was finally annexed to the empire.

We now resume the series of original letters written by the duke of Richmond when in Yorkshire to his royal father:—

[State Paper Office, Domestic, II. 106.]

Pleas yt yowre hyghenes to be advertised, that (as I am highly bouynden) uppon my knees moost humbly, I beseche yowre sayde hyghenes, of yowre dayly blissyng. Acertaynyng the same, that yowre servante syr Rycharde Tempest† this berer was here w^t me yn the feaste of alle sayntes, And at alle tymes ys redy to do unto me alle the pleasuyre he can, not only yn gevyng hys attendaunce uppon me at sondry tymes, But also otherwyses, Wherefore I thynke I can do no lesse then to advertyse yowre sayde hyghenes off the good service that thys sayde berer dothe unto yowre hyghenes yn these partes, and off the pleasuyres he shewyth unto me at alle seasons. And almyghety Gode have yow, my mooste dradde soverayne lorde, yn hys mooste blessyd tuition and governaunce. At yowre Castelle off Pontefret, the iij^{de} daye of Novembre, w^t t^hand off yowre moost lowly servant,

Directed, Unto the kynges hyghenes.

H. RYCHEMONDE.

The next letter, the penmanship of which is remarkably fair, and which was professedly intended for an exhibition of the writer's progress in that art, may also probably be assigned to the same season.

[State Paper Office, Domestic, II. 109.]

Pleas it your highenes to be advertised that at thys tyme I do write

* King Henry himself afterwards contemplated marriage with the duchess of Milan, and it is to that lady the bon-mot has been attributed, that, if she had had but two heads, one should have been at his majesty's service.

† Richard Tempest was one of the esquires of the king's body in 1513, and a knight at the time of the Field of Cloth of Gold, in 1520. (See Chronicle of Calais, p. 20.) He was of Bracewell, in Craven; see his pedigree in Whitaker's History of that Deanery.

unto the same not onoly to make a demonstration off thys my proceedinge in writinge, but also in my moost humble and moost lowly wise to beseche youre highenes off youre dayly blissinge and pardone, for that I have so long tyme delayed and forborne to write unto your saide highenes, to whos moste gracious favoure and goodnes no Creature livinge ys more bound thene I am, And as it hathe pleased God and youre mooste gratius highnes to preferre a* advance me in honoure, So in like wise I shal endeavour my selffe and applye my tyme to thattaynyng off lerninge vertue and connyng correspondente to the same, like as I truste thys berar Maister Magnus directoure off my Counsaile can make relation unto youre saide highenes, whom almyghtie God evermor have in his moste blissyd tuition and governance. Written at Shireff hooton the fourthe daye off Marche by youre mooste humble servante,

H. RYCHEMONDE.

Indorsed, Unto the kinges highnes.

The same composition served for a letter addressed at the same time to his godfather the cardinal legate, and, as it happens, the original of this is also preserved,† although in a different depositary; with its necessary variations of expression, it is as follows:—

Pleas yt your grace to bee advertised that at thys tyme I do write unto the same not onoly to make a demonstracion off thys my proceeding in writinge, but also in my righte humble and lowly wise to beseche youre grace off youre dayly blissynge and pardone, for that I have soo longe tyme delayed and forborne to write unto youre grace, to whos favoure and goodnes no Creature living ys more bounde thene I am, And like as it hathe pleased almighty God and the kinges highnes moche parte by the meanes and good favoure off your grace to preferre and advance me in honor, So shal I (God willinge) endeavor my selffe and applye my tyme for thattaynyng and encreas off lernynge vertue and cunnynge correspondente to the same, wherby I may be more able to do unto the kingis highnes suche service hereafter as shal consiste with his mooste gracious pleasure, wiche off alle thyng, under God, is and shalbe my onoly myende entent

* *Sic.*

† In the MS. Cotton. Vesp. F. III. f. 18 b. A modernized version was given in Dr. Nott's Life of Surrey, Appendix, No. III. p. vii.

and purpoos. As maister Magnus thys berer Director off my Counsaile shalle make relacion unto youre grace, Whome almightie God evermore have in his mooste hoolie and blissed tucyon and governance. At Shireff hutton the fourthe daye off Marche by youre mooste humble godsonne,

*Small seal, the device apparently a camel.**

H. RYCHEMONDE.

Direction, Unto my lord Legate's good grace.

The year 1528 was signalised by the prevalence of the fatal epidemic disease called the sweating-sickness, which did not spare some of the principal courtiers. The attendants of the duke of Richmond shared the alarm, from the disease appearing in the parish of Pontefract, and on the 31st of May his chamberlain addressed the following letter to Wolsey, which gives a remarkable account of this extraordinary disease.†

[State Paper Office, Wolsey Correspondence, IX. 170.]

Please it your grace to be advertised that my lorde of Richemounde with all his trayne at the making hereof bee in good helthe (laudes bee to almyghtie God); howe bee it, considering that there bee six persones lately disseased within the lordship of Pountefrete, whereof twoo bee of the town of Pountefrete, and the other foure bee of the parishe, and that many young childrene bee sike of the pokkes nere thereaboutes, for whiche causes I by thadvise and consente of the counsaill of my said lorde of Richemounde have at this present tyme removed his lordship into Ledestone, which is a house belonging unto the prior of Pountefrete, being thre myles from the king owr souverain lordes castell of Pountefrete. The foresaid six persones sikened and died of this maner. Furste they were takene with a great cold, and after that strikene into a fervent heat and sweting, whereupon theyr righte myendes were takne from theym, and soo died. Moost humbly beseeching youre highnes to conside what great daunger it is for my said lorde in this tyme of suche straunge infirmities to bee distitute of a phisicion. And that it maye like your grace to provyde suche oone as your grace shall seme (*sic*) fitte and suffi-

* The letters in the State Paper Office have all lost their seals.

† Some particulars of the subsequent incursion of this epidemic in the year 1551 will be found in Machyn's Diary, p. 319, and the Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London, p. 70.

ciente to serve in that behalf. As the hooly Trinytie knowethe, who evermore have youre grace in his mooste blessed governaunce, my righte singler good and gracious lorde. Written at my said sovereign lordes Castell of Pountefrete the laste daye of Maye, by youre mooste humble servaunte,

WYLLIAM PARRE.

Directed, To my lorde legates good grace.

On the very day the preceding letter was written, sir William Compton, a great favourite with the king, died of the sickness at court, and the king in consequence retired to Tittenhanger, a manor belonging to Wolsey, in Hertfordshire, where he appears to have remained in privacy for many weeks. On the 21st of July a letter * was addressed to the king by the duke of Richmond (but not written by his own hand), acknowledging that he had received two letters from his highness dated at Tittenhanger on the 10th of the same month, wherein the king's wishes had been expressed in favour of his servant sir Giles Strangwisse knight, and of sir Edward Seymour,† master of the duke of Richmond's horses, for such rooms and offices ‡ appertaining to the duke's gift in Dorsetshire as had become vacant by the death of sir William Compton,§

* Printed in State Papers, 4to. 1830, ii. 321.

† Afterwards the king's brother-in-law, duke of Somerset and Protector to his nephew king Edward VI.

‡ From a MS. slip preserved with this letter it appears that the offices in question were as follow :

“ These be the lordships belonging to my Lordes grace of Richmonde and Sommerset.

The Countie of Dorsetshire.	Canford Corff Castle Cockden hundred and the Ile of Purbyke	}	The Stewardess fee is c ^s .
Sommerssetshire.	The Borough of Milborne port The Mano ^r of Kingesbury Regis and the hundred of Horethorn The Mano ^r of Quene Cammell The Lordship of Martock The hundred of Stone and Cattisy As ^s he The mano ^r of Coryrevell The hundred of Abdyke and Bulstone and the borough of Langporte		

§ Probably many papers relative to sir William Compton are preserved among the

namely, the stewardship of Canford, &c. In answer to which request the duke replies that "my lord legate" (Wolsey) had of late signified to him that it was the king's pleasure that when any such offices or benefices appurtenant to his gift should be void, he by the advice of his counsel should dispose and give the same at his liberty; whereupon, considering the great number of his servants, and that none of them had been rewarded since their coming to him, he had already given that office in Dorsetshire to sir William Parre knight, his chamberlain, with a fee of 100 shillings, and the other stewardship in Somersetshire to his trustie and diligent servant George Coton, continually giving his attendance upon him, with the fee of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, concluding with a wish that such disposal might not be disturbed "if it maye stande with your high pleasure." The letter is signed in the duke's own hand,

"Yowre most lowly servant,

H. RYCHEMONDE."

The duke of Richmond had returned to Sheriff Hutton before the 7th of October, on which day Magnus wrote to Wolsey thus:—

"Pleas it your good grace to be avertised, that my lorde of Richemondes grace is in right good health and mery. And sithence the begynnynge of the pestiferous and ragious swete that haith reigned, my saide lord till nowe of late haith lyen and contynued in a private place, with five personages attending upon his saide grace; and neither the same, nor any other his company, haith bene vexed, troubled, nor encombred with that sickenes. And now his saide grace is commen hider, and contynueth amongges his servauntes in his owne house, to their all grete coumfortes, seeing his goodly proceedinges in all vertues.

"Of late my lorde of Northumberlande came hither to viset and to see my saide lordes grace, and made suche speciall requeste, sute, and instance that he mought have my saide lorde to see his house and manor of Topcliff, *

papers at the Rolls house. I have noticed,—No. 1263, Inventory of sir William Compton, his goods at Windsor, Compton, &c.; No. 1264, names of the Stewards and Bailies of Mr. Cumpton his landys; No. 1370, Stewards of sir William Compton's lands.

* The earls of Northumberland had a manor-house called Cockridge, or Cockledge, in the parish of Topcliff, four miles from Thirsk; and it was from thence that Henry the fourth earl was in 1489 taken by a mob of the country people and beheaded at Thirsk. (See Gentleman's Magazine, Nov. 1851.) No account of the house is preserved; Leland, who describes in so remarkable and interesting a manner his visits to the earl's houses at

that theruppon they passed thider booth to gader; where as my saide lorde of Northumberlande had my said lorde oune night, and did unto hym all the honour and pleasure he couth in the mooste goodly and humble maner. And I assure your grace my lorde of Richemonde for his partye did use hymselfe, not like a childe of his tender age, but moore like a man in all his behaviours, as well in commynnycation as others, fasionnyng every thing to the beste purpose."

The same letter afterwards states that the duke had also been visited by the lord Dacre, on his journey southward.*

Almost immediately after, the duke of Richmond appears to have received the earl and countess of Westmerland at Sheriff Hutton, accompanied by their son the lord Neville,† who was left to reside with him for a time. Of this arrival he informed the king in the following letter, the last that is dated from Sheriff Hutton:—

[State Paper Office, Domestic, II. 119.]

In my mooste humble and mooste lawly maner I beseche your highenes off your daily blissynge, Advertisinge the same that, thanks be to God and to yowr said highenes, I have paste this last Sommere withoute any perelle or daunger off the ragious swete that haithe reigned in these partis and other, and myche the better I truste with the helpe off suche preservatives as your highenes did sende unto me, wheroff mooste humble and mooste lawly I thanke the same, Acertanyng yowre grace that at this present tyme be here withe me my lorde off Wistmoorlande and my lady his wyffe, and have broughte unto me to attend upon me the lorde Nevell thaire soune and heire. And thus almighty God have you, my mooste dradde souveraine lorde, in his mooste blessyd preservacion. At my Castelle off Shereif hooton, withe the hand of your lawly servant,

Directed,

Unto the kinges highenes.

H. Rychemond.

Wressel and Leckenfield, did not go to Topcliffe; but he enumerates it in a list of "the erle of Northumbrelondes castelles and manors," as "Topclif on Suale, a goodly maner-house yn a parke."

* State Papers, vol. iv. p. 516.

† Henry afterwards the fifth earl of Westmerland and K.G. He succeeded his father in 1549, and died in 1563.

We have only one more of the duke's letters: which is in Latin, and in a hand still more exactly representing printed characters. It was written at Hatfield, near Doncaster;* and contains a warm eulogium on his late servant Matthew Boynton†:—

[State Paper Office, Domestic, II. 120.]

S. Et tu clarissime princeps ocasiones obligandi me avidissime amplecteris & ego nemini libentius debeam, proinde humanitate tua fretus quid velim paucis aperiā. Mattheus Boynton nuper minister mihi fuit, vir, ita me dij ament, summa integritate, pari constancia, nec minore verecundia, moribus vero perquam festivis, amat me, nihil possum dicere ardentius, ut tu, hunc si tuo dignatus fueris obsequio, habebis me habebis ipsum gratissimum debitorem. Christus opt. serenitatem tuam incolumem tueatur. Hatfeldiæ, quinto cal. ap.

Servulus tuus humilimus,

Directed, Celsitudini Regiæ.

H. RYCHEMONDE.

This letter is indorsed, "The Duke of Richemond to the Kinges Ma^{tie} in the commendacion of Mathewe Boynton."

It was on the 2d Dec. 1527, as already stated, that the duke of Richmond was superseded in his command of the Scottish marches by the young earl of Northumberland, who had succeeded to the honours of his house by his father's death in the preceding May. But some of the foregoing letters have shown that the duke of Richmond did not immediately quit his residence in the North.

After an interval of two or three years only, the still more exalted office of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland was bestowed upon the king's son; but we have not the exact date of the grant, the patent not appearing on the roll.‡

* Hatfield, in Hertfordshire, afterwards a palace of Henry VIII., belonged to the see of Ely until the year 1538. The Yorkshire Hatfield was the birth-place of one of the sons of Edward the Third, named William of Hatfield, whose effigy remains in York minster. In the fifteenth century it was occasionally the residence of Richard duke of York, whose eldest son Henry was born there in 1441. It was a hunting lodge, built for the sake of sport in Hatfield Chace, and Leland describes it as but builded meanly of timber. In 1607 it was in great ruin. (See Hunter's "South Yorkshire," i. 155.)

† Matthew Boynton, of Barmston, co. York, great-grandfather of sir Matthew the first Baronet, created in 1618. His wife was Anne daughter of sir John Bulmer, and granddaughter of old sir William the duke's steward.

‡ In the Correspondence regarding Ireland published by the State Papers Commission,

It was probably immediately before his appointment of Sir William Skeffington as his deputy, which was made on the 22d June, 1530. The duke never visited the shores of Ireland in person;* but he continued lord-lieutenant until his death.

On the 9th Aug. 1529, he was one of the temporal lords then summoned to parliament, although at that time only ten years of age.

The king retained him now more within his own view. He was with the king at Windsor on St. George's Day, 1530, when the knights of the Garter kept the feast in solemn procession;† and it was on the very next day that the king's fletcher was paid 20s. for arrows which he had supplied to "my lord of Richmond." In the following spring the king gave him a

vol. ii. p. 147, are two notes, which state that the duke of Richmond was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland on the 22d June, 1529, and held that office till his death; and that sir William Skeffington was first appointed Lord Deputy in August 1529. These dates appear to be erroneous. The duke's grant of the office of deputy to sir William Skeffington, knt. was dated 22 June, 1530, as appears by the Patent Roll of Ireland, 22 Hen. VIII.; his grant of the same office to Gerald FitzGerald, earl of Kildare, 5 July, 1532, on Rot. Pat. Hib. 24 and 25 Hen. VIII. and again 30 July, 1534, on Rot. Pat. Hib. 25, 26, and 27 Hen. VIII. When there was no lord-lieutenant (and the last had been Thomas earl of Surrey, from 1520 to 1522), the king himself appointed the lord-deputy, and in 1521 it had been a question whether the appointment of a deputy was in the power of the lieutenant. (State Papers, Irish Correspondence, i. 92.) In the duke of Richmond's case, of course, no such difficulty could arise; but it is remarkable that, whilst the records of Ireland fully recognise both sir William Skeffington and the earl of Kildare as deputies of the duke of Richmond the king's lieutenant, in many instances the former is described as the deputy at once of the king and the lieutenant, as in the following example. In 1530 (Sept. 19) the office of keeper of the rolls was granted to Anthony Skeffington the king's chaplain "*de assensu dilecti et fidelis nostri Willielmi Skeffington deputati nostri ac præcharissimi et dilectissimi consanguinei nostri Henrici ducis Richmond et Somerset, de prosapia nostra orti, locum tenentis nostri terræ et dominii nostri Hiberniæ. Teste præfato deputato nostro apud Dublin.*" (Rot. Mem. 22 Hen. VIII. mem. 15.) Subsequently, Leonard lord Grey bears the like designation, until the duke of Richmond's death in 1536. In the State Paper office (Ireland, No. 20) is a copy of Instructions given by the kynges highenes to his trusty counsaillour sir William Skeffington knyght, Master of the Ordenaunces, whom his grace hath constituted and ordeyned to be Deputie unto his right trusty and right entirely welbeloved cousin the duke of Rychemont and of Somersett, lieutenant of his lande of Ireland: they bear no contemporary date. They are printed in the State Papers, as above, ii. 147.

* His "*teste apud Dublin*" was a legal fiction: see Additional Note.

† See the ceremonial observed on this occasion in the Register of the Garter, by Anstis, vol. ii. Appendix, No. VII.

lute;† an instrument upon which his majesty was himself skilled, as we see commemorated in his beautiful illuminated psalter now preserved in the British Museum.

When the king went to France, in the autumn of 1532, in order to hold an interview with Francis I. he was attended by nearly the whole of his peers, and the duke of Richmond was among them.* He did not, however, accompany the king to Boulogne; but when, on the 25th October, Francis returned with Henry to Calais, "without the town, about the distance of two miles, the duke of Richmond, the king's base son, with a great companie of noble men which had not beene at Bullougne, met them, and saluting the French king, embraced him in a most honorable and courteous manner."† Two days after, a chapter of the Garter was held at Calais, in which the French king was present, and voted for the election (among others) of the duc de Vendosme, the comte de Beaumont (grand master of France, and afterwards duc de Montmorenci,) and the comte de Newblanche (admiral of France). The duke of Richmond voted next, and gave his suffrages for—(princes) the comte de Beaumont, the comte de Newblanche, and the earl of Derby; (barons) lord Montaugu, lord Laware, and lord Powis; (knights) sir Nicholas Carew, sir Thomas Cheney, and sir Giles Strangwich. The grand master and admiral of France were elected.‡

† " The xxiiij daye of Aprill, 1530, paied to Guilliame the kinges Fletcher for arowes for my lord of Richemond	xx s.
" The xxvij daye paid to my lord of Richemondes norse in rewarde	xl s.
" Item, the ij ^{de} daye of May, 1531, paied to Arthur the lewter for a lewte for the duke of Richemond	xx s.
" Item, the xxiiij daye of January, 1532, paied in rewarde to a physician that went to my lorde of Richemond	xl s.

(The Privy purse Expenses of King Henry the Eighth from Nov.
1529 to Dec. 1532, edited by N. H. Nicolas, esq. 8vo. 1827,
pp. 40, 41, 131, 189.)

* " The xj. day of October Henry the Eighth, kynge of England, landyd at Caleis, with the duke of Richmond his bastard sonne, the duke of Norfolke lorde tresorer of England, . . . the erle of Surrey," &c. &c. See the rest of the train enumerated in The Chronicle of Calais (printed for the Camden Society), p. 41.

† Hall's Chronicle, 1548, fol. cc.viiij.

‡ Register of the Garter, ii. 389.

After this royal conference, according to Lord Herbert and other authors, the duke of Richmond remained for some time at the French court, accompanied by the poet earl of Surrey: and this account is apparently confirmed by a passage in "The Chronicle of Calais," which states that in "1533, the xxv. of September, the duke of Richmond, bastard sonne to king Henry the Eighth, and the erle of Surrey, came to Caleys owt of Fraunce, where they had bene almoste xij monthes."

Yet, it is irreconcilable with this statement that the earl of Surrey is related to have carried the fourth sword at the coronation of queen Anne Boleyn in May, 1533, and that in the same month the duke of Richmond is recorded to have been the sovereign's lieutenant at the feast of the order of the Garter.*

On Saint George's day, 1533, at a chapter of the Garter, held at Greenwich, it was determined that the annual feast should be kept at Windsor on the 17th of May following, and that the "*inclytus juvenis Rychmondiaë dux meritissimus*" should supply the sovereign's place on that occasion, assisted by the duke of Norfolk, the marquess of Exeter, the earl of Northumberland, and lord Burgavenny; which was performed accordingly.†

* On this disputed matter, which is one of some importance in regard to Surrey's biography, it is perhaps desirable to quote all that Dr. Nott says: "The Duke of Richmond, instead of returning to England, went to Paris, to complete his studies in the university there; and to learn all the elegant and polite accomplishments which were to be acquired at the French Court. It is said that Surrey attended his noble friend thither." Dr. Nott then appends this note, "Dodd, in his Church History, expressly asserts this, and adds, that both Surrey and Richmond went to Paris to learn French! What credit may be given to Dodd the reader will decide when he learns that, according to that historian, Surrey went from Paris to meet Henry at Calais when he landed there on his road to Boulogne: and that one of his motives for going to Florence, was to see the Fair Geraldine: he returned, he says, from his tour about the year 1540. Vol. i. p. 172." Dr. Nott then proceeds in his text, "The fact, I believe, rests wholly on conjecture; but the conjecture is a probable one. It was then the fashion, as it ever has been with some, to send their sons to study in foreign universities. . . . Still the point is uncertain. One thing, however, is clear. Admitting that Surrey went with Richmond to the French Court, his residence there was not of long duration. Neither did it produce any sensible effect on either his taste or his studies," &c.

† Register of the Garter, ii. 393. A limning of the knights of the Garter in procession, made in 26 Hen. VIII. (1534), represents the duke of Richmond as the senior knight. (Ibid. vol. ii. App. p. xlii.)

These discrepancies can only be reconciled by the supposition that, though the period in question was for the most part passed by these young gallants at the French court, they temporarily came home for the queen's coronation.* The duke of Norfolk, Surrey's father, was sent as ambassador to France in the same summer. He arrived at the French court about the middle of July.† About the middle of August he sent home lord Rochford by post with a message to king Henry; whereupon the latter commanded the ambassador to return immediately,‡ and he also recalled the duke of Richmond, as well as his ambassadors to the pope. As the Calais chronicler says, the duke of Norfolk returned in haste, "for the pope would not speak with him or his company." He passed through Calais on the 29th of August, nearly a month before his son and the duke of Richmond.

It was at the same time, or very shortly after, that the king, relinquishing his former ideas of an alliance with the sovereign houses of the continent, selected for his son a wife from the then favoured house of Howard, which was exercising a predominant influence from the position of their cousin Anne Boleyn upon the throne. The lady Mary Howard was the duke of Norfolk's only daughter. Notwithstanding the duke of Richmond's illegitimacy, the parties were deemed to be within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity, and the consequent papal dispensation was dated on the 26th of November, 1533.§ Of the marriage ceremony no account

* This, however, is to suppose that they passed unobserved by the Calais chronicler, whose business it was to notice all arrivals and departures of great men. But it might be so if they travelled post, without their retinue and baggage, as lord Rochford shortly after did.

† *Mémoires de Du Bellay.*

‡ "Lequel seigneur Roy manda incontinent audit duc de Norfolk prendre congé du Roy de France, et se retirer : aussi revoqua le duc de Richemont son fils naturel estant lors à la cour dudit seigneur Roy de France, et ses ambassadeurs estans riere nostre saint Pere." (*Mémoires du Mess. Martin du Bellay*, fol. 1519, f. 113 F.)

§ "Sed quia quarto consanguinitatis gradu invicem conjuncti estis, vestrum in hac parte desiderium non potestis adimplere, canonica dispensatione desuper non obtenta.—Henricus dux Richmondie et Somerset, com. de Nottingham, magnus admirallus Ang. et præclara femina Maria Howard præpotentis viri Tho. ducis de Norfolkia filia.—Richard. Gwent deputatus pro Pet. de Vannes, 26^o Nov. 1533, 11^o pontif. Clem. VII." (*Frere's MS. Collections*, quoted in *Nott's Life of Surrey*, p. xxviii.)

Sanders, in his history of the English schism (p. 30), states that "The king by his

has been discovered. A letter written some time after by the bride's mother shows that the match was promoted by the queen,* and yet

letters to the pope did, at the same time that he was moving scruples about his own marriage, transact about a dispensation for a marriage betwixt his own natural son the duke of Richmond and his daughter the lady Mary,"—a strange misapprehension, which is censured as a wilful error by Burnet at the close of vol. I. of his *History of the Reformation*.

Part of another document (dated 1538-9) may here be added from Dr. Nott's work : "Cum chariss. consanguineus noster Henricus nuper dux Richmondiæ et Somerset et comes Nott. jam defunctus in tenera ætate sua dominam Mariam filiam charissimi consanguinei nostri Tho. ducis Norff. cepit in uxorem, qui quidem dux Rich. et Som. ante carnal. cop. inter ipsam et dominam Mariam habitam viam universæ carnis ingressus fuerit," &c. See further of this document, which relates to the duchess's dower, in Nott's Appendix, p. xevii.

It will be observed, the marriage was not considered complete. Notices of the discussions that took place after the duke's death as to its validity will be found in Strype, *Life of Cranmer*, p. 45 ; Ellis's *Original Letters*, II. ii. 83 ; and *State Papers*, 1830, 4to. i. pp. 575, 577. I shall not enter further in this place into the history of Mary duchess of Richmond, having already compiled an article on her biography, which is printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for May, 1845. Her reputation has suffered severely, and I think unjustly, from the testimony she was required to give at her brother's trial; and, as she was a decided Protestant, she has received little mercy from the usual eulogists of the house of Howard. It might rather be argued that she was a lady of extraordinary excellence and self-denial, because, at a period when it was very customary for widows to rush into second marriages with men of inferior rank, she remained sole, and devoted herself to the education of the children of her unfortunate brother. At the same time it must be admitted that the unsettled question of her dower protected her from the ordinary herd of fortune-hunting suitors. Her portrait occurs among the Holbein Heads by Chamberlain.

* The duchess of Norfolk, in this letter, contrasts the circumstances of her daughter's marriage with her own. Great alliances were purchased by expensive settlements, or sometimes by money actually paid to the parents. The duke of Norfolk, writes the duchess Elizabeth, "had with me two thousand marks : " and previously, in contemplation of a different alliance, "my father had bought my lord of Westmerlande for me." Therefore, "I thyncke by the law I schuld have my jointre as well as my dozter of Richmonde, for the kynges grace had never a peyny for my lord of Richemonde, for qwene Anne gatt the maryage clere for my lorde my husbond, when sche dyd favour my lorde my husbond. I here qwene Anne say that yff my lorde of Richemond dyd dye, that my dozter schuld have above a thosand li. a yere to hyr jointur," &c. (Letter of Elizabeth duchess of Norfolk to lord privy seal Cromwell, 24 Oct. 1537, MS. Cotton. Titus B. 1. f. 383, printed by Nott, Appx. p. lxxii.)

another letter of the duchess of Richmond herself declares that the king "himself alone made the marriage."*

To the period which now ensued we may properly assign that happy time at Windsor castle, which is described in one of the most beautiful and best known of the earl of Surrey's poems. A misconception or forced interpretation of this poem was the origin of all the unfounded speculations upon the education of both parties to which allusion has already been made. The only excuse for such misconception lay in the phrase "childish years," though the employments which are described are fully significant of the real period of life intended. The poem is so strictly biographical, in describing the ordinary sports and exercises of the duke of Richmond and his companions, that it cannot be omitted in this place; but the reader may be referred for verbal criticisms and explanations, if he requires them, to the ample annotations of Dr. Nott:—

So cruell prison how could betyde, alas!
 As proude Windsore? where I in lust and joy
 With a Kynges Sonne my childish yeres did passe,
 In greater feasts than Priam's sonnes of Troy.
 Where each swete place returns a taste full sour,—
 The large Green Court, where we were wont to hove,
 With eyes cast up into the Maiden's tower,
 And easy sighes, such as folkes draw in love.
 The stately seates, the ladies bright of hewe,
 The daunces short, long tales of greate delight;
 With wordes and lookes that tygers could but rewe
 Where eche of us did plead the other's right.
 The palme-play, where, despoiled for the game,
 With dazed eyes oft we by gleames of love
 Have myst the ball, and got sight of our dame,
 To bayte her eyes, which kept the leads above.
 The Gravel-Ground, with sleeves tyde on the helm,
 On foaming horse, with swords and friendly hearts,
 With chere as though one should another whelm,
 Where we have fought, and chased oft with darts.

* "—— his hyegthnes shuld be mowed to have compassion on me, consederynge that he hemselfe alone made the maryege." (Letter of Mary duchess of Richmond to her father the duke of Norfolk.)

With silver drops the meade yet spread for ruth,
 In active games of nimbleness and strength
 Where we did strain, trained with swarms of youth,
 Our tender limbs, that yet shot up in length.
 The secret groves, which oft we made resound
 Of pleasant playnt, and of our ladies prayse;
 Recording oft what grace each one had found,
 What hope of spede, what dread of long delayes.
 The wild forèste, the clothed holts with grene;
 With reins availed, and swift y-breathed horse,
 With cry of hounds, and merry blasts betwene,
 Where we did chase the fearful hart of force.
 The voide walls eke that harborde us eche night;
 Wherewith, alas! revive within my breast
 The sweet accorde, such slepes as yet delight,
 The pleasant dreames, the quiet bed of rest;
 The secret thoughtes, imparted with such trust;
 The wanton talke, the divers change of play;
 The friendship sworne, eche promise kept so just,
 Wherewith we past the winter nightes away.
 And with this thought the blood forsakes the face,
 The teares berayne my chekes of deadly hewe:
 The which as soon as sobbing sighs, alas!
 Upsupped have, thus I my plaint renew:
 O place of bliss! renewer of my woes!
 Give me accompt, where is my noble fere?
 Whom in thy walles thou didst each night inclose,
 To other leefe, but unto me most deare.
 Echo, alas! that doth my sorrow rewe,
 Returns thereto a hollow sound of playnt;
 Thus I alone, where all my freedom grewe,
 In prison pyne, with bondage and restraynt:
 And with remembrance of the greater grieve
 To banish the less, I find my chief reliefe.

This poem was written by lord Surrey, in all probability, at the time when he was under restraint at Windsor, in 1542, in consequence of a quarrel with John à Leigh.* If so, it was composed about eight years after the period which it describes, and about six years after Richmond's death;

* It has also been assigned to 1543, when he was again in disgrace for eating flesh in Lent; and to 1546, when he had threatened the earl of Hertford.

and, though we owe to the accidental circumstance of the poet's loss of liberty, which recalled the scenes of happier days, this passionate expression, after such a lapse of time, of his affectionate regard for his early companion, still we cannot doubt that the sentiments thus revived had been entertained with all the sincerity that is depicted, nor that they had originated in more than ordinary claims, on the part of their object, to his affection and esteem. "One year," remarks Dr. Nott, "one short year, the most unclouded perhaps in Surrey's life, was thus spent at Windsor, in that sweet alternation of study and active employment, which, mingled with gay hopes, and the vague but eager expectation of future happiness in store, renders youth the season of our greatest enjoyment, and endears the recollection of it to the latest period of mortal existence."

On the 20th of January, 1533-4, the duke of Richmond was present at a chapter of the Garter held at Westminster, to fill a vacancy caused by the death of the lord Mountjoy; and on that occasion he gave his votes for—(princes) the king of Scotland, the king of Portugal, and the earl of Derby; (barons) the lord Rochford, the lord Windsor, and the lord Daere; (knights) sir William Courtenay, sir Anthony Browne, and sir Giles Strangwysh. The election fell on the king of Scotland.*

A session of parliament commenced on the 15th of January, 1533-4, which was opened as usual by the king in person, and the duke of Richmond was in attendance; and it is very remarkable that, although he was then only fourteen years of age, he was present during the sittings of thirty-two days of that session, and absent on thirteen only. The parliament was prorogued by the king in person on the 30th of March, the duke of Richmond being in attendance.†

On St. George's day, 1536, the duke was present at a chapter of the Garter held at Greenwich. There was one vacancy in the order to be supplied, and the duke of Richmond gave his suffrages for—(princes) the king of Portugal, the earl of Derby, and the earl of Worcester; (barons) lord Rochford, lord Delawarre, lord Daere; (knights) sir Nicholas Carew,

* Register of the Garter, ii. 394, 395.

† Journals of the House of Lords, vol. i. In the next session, which sat from the 12th June to the 18th July, 1536, the duke of Richmond was never present: from which we may perhaps infer that his last illness was of some duration.

sir Giles Strangways, and sir Anthony Browne. Sir Nicholas Carew, who had the suffrages of all the knights present, was elected.*

On the 19th of the following month the unhappy queen Anne, the cousin of the Howards, met her death upon the scaffold within the Tower of London. Her uncle the duke of Norfolk had presided at her trial as lord steward, and his son the earl of Surrey as earl marshal; and among the principal spectators at her execution are recorded to have been the king's new chief minister Cromwell, lord chancellor Audley, the duke of Suffolk, and the duke of Richmond.†

After the decapitation of George Boleyn viscount Rochford, which took place two days before that of his sister the queen, the offices of constable of Dover castle and warden of the Cinque Ports were conferred on the duke of Richmond;‡ but he held them for a very short time, for he was now himself hastening to the tomb.

The premature death of the subject of this memoir occurred on the 22d of July following. It is strange that neither in the chronicles nor in the letters of the time have been discovered any particulars of his illness, or any comments upon the king's reception of his loss.§ As a passing oc-

* Register of the Garter, ii. 400.

† Miss Strickland has expressed herself with extraordinary vehemence upon this occasion. She remarks that the disgraced queen, on ascending the scaffold, "there saw assembled the lord mayor and some of the civic dignitaries, and her great enemy the duke of Suffolk, with Henry's natural son, the duke of Richmond, who had, in defiance of all decency and humanity, come thither to distract her last moments with their unfriendly espionage, and to feast their eyes upon her blood." Mr. Tytler, on the other hand, views the circumstance in a very different light: he says the scaffold "was surrounded by those only whom the jealous precautions of Henry had selected to be witnesses rather than spectators."—(Life of Henry VIII. in Edinburgh Cabinet Library, 1837, p. 381.) It is very doubtful whether any motives are fairly attributable to those present at such acts of public justice. Among those whom the chroniclers name as having been present on these occasions are generally found the sufferers' most intimate friends, though perhaps not in immediate attendance upon them: nor did their enemies from any delicacy keep away. State executions were really public ones, and presence at them implied no coarseness of feeling in men who were too much accustomed to greater horrors.

‡ Lambard's Perambulation of Kent, p. 130.

§ We merely gather, from a paper subsequently written by the duke of Norfolk in his troubles, that the king received the sad news at Sittingbourne: "I was never at Dover

currence, the duke of Richmond's death was recorded by the chroniclers with those eulogies on his character and accomplishments which have been already cited in this memoir. A French poet, Nicolas de Bourbon,* who had spent some time in England, in the following lines represents the whole country as sharing the grief of the royal father:—

In Henrici Richmondie Ducis D. Henrici VIII. Britannorum Regis filii obitum.

Henricum rex Henricus nunc luget, et omnis

Cum Rege flet Britannia.

Ô Mors, si talem violasti, cui tua tandem

Superstitum parcet manus?

Nicolai Borboni, Vandoperani Lingonensis, Nugarum
lib. v. carmen xx. Lugduni, 1538, p. 284.

The event took place at the palace of St. James's by Westminster; and the body of the deceased was carried for interment to the priory of Thetford, in Norfolk, that being then the place of sepulture of the house of Howard, into which he had married. It is probable that some account of the ceremonial of his funeral was written, as was usual, by the attendant heralds, but no copy of it has been found in the library of the College of Arms or elsewhere.

Bloomfield, in his History of Thetford, printed in 1739, relates that the duke was buried in that church, "but at the Dissolution his body and monument were removed with his father-in-law's to Framlingham, where it now remains on the north side of the altar."

The monument as it now stands in Framlingham church is an oblong mass of masonry, measuring nine feet by five, and four feet nine inches

with his highness since my lord of Richmond died, but at that time, of whose death word came to Syttingborne."—Burnet, Hist. of Reformation, 1829, III. ii. 256.

* Nicolas Bourbon, a native of Troyes, being patronised by Margaret queen of Navarre, was preceptor to her daughter Jane, afterwards the mother of Henry IV. of France. He came to this country, and taught some of the young nobility. Among his poems is one "De H. Careo, H. Noresio, Th. Harvæo meis olim apud Britannos discipulis—

quos rex et quos mihi regia

Conjux commiserant puellulos.

Whilst in England his portrait was drawn by Holbein, and it is engraved by Bartolozzi among Chamberlain's Holbein Heads.

high; there are no effigies of the deceased,* nor does the upper surface appear complete, but on its four corners stand mutilated statuettes, being figures in long gowns which hold in one hand an antique shield, and in the other a trophy of the Passion. There were originally twelve of these statuettes, one placed above each of the fluted pilasters which divide the sides of the tomb. Immediately below the entablature is a series of twelve bas-reliefs, the subjects of which, though now much injured, have been ascertained to be derived from the following subjects of the Old Testament history:—

North side—1. The Creation of Eve. 2. God placing Adam and Eve in Paradise. 3. The Angel appearing to Adam and Eve in Paradise. 4. Adam and Eve driven out of Paradise.

West end—5. Adam labouring, and Eve nursing Abel, with Cain by his side. 6. Cain and Abel offering sacrifice, and Cain slaying Abel.

South side—7. Noah and his Family in the Ark. 8. Noah asleep, and his three Sons discovering his nakedness. 9. Abraham and Sarah entertaining three Angels. 10. Lot's Wife changed into a Pillar of Salt.

East end—11. Abraham offering up his son Isaac. 12. Moses with the Tables of the Law, and the Worshipping of the Golden Calf.

On larger panels below these bas-reliefs are carved armorial achievements, consisting of repetitions of the three following arrangements:—

1. On a lozenge, quarterly, Howard, Brotherton, Warren, and Mowbray.
2. On a shield, the duke's arms impaling his wife's, quarterly as the preceding.

3. The duke's arms alone, within the Garter, surmounted by a coronet. Above each shield large coronets projected in considerable relief, but these are nearly perished.

There is a folio engraving of the north side of this monument, engraved by J. Wood from a drawing made by Joshua Kirby in 1748, and the same was copied in quarto, in 1797, for Loder's History of Framlingham.

A miniature portrait taken by Henry FitzRoy, duke of Richmond, was in the collection of the earl of Orford at Strawberry Hill, and an

* It is not improbable that the monument, though very considerable cost must have been expended upon it, was not completely finished when removed from Thetford to Framlingham.

engraving from it (by R. Clapp) was published in Harding's Biographical Mirror, 1794. It represents a person of regular features, but without showing any hair, his head bound in a close nightcap of lace or network; and his only other garment a night-gown, untied and open at the breast. This extraordinary costume in itself affords no chronological criteria, and so many of Horace Walpole's appropriations were imaginary that some further evidence of the identity of this portrait is desirable. At the sale of the Strawberry Hill collection in 1842 the miniature was sold for £7 17*s.* 6*d.* to the name of Jarman.

The following documents relate to the state of the duke's household upon his decease. His principal officers, enumerated in the first paper, remain nearly the same as those appointed at the original establishment of his household in 1525:—

[MSS. in the Rolls House, Second Series, No. 843.]

The yerely fees of the laite Duke of Richemondes Counsaile, with the allowance of them selves and theire servauntes joring* and sitting in the causes of justyce as here after followith :—

<i>The number of persones.</i>	<i>Waiges.</i>	<i>Servauntes.</i>
Sir William Parre	xxvj ^{li} xiijs ^s iiij ^d	iiij
Sir William Bulmer	xxxiiij ^{li} vjs ^s viij ^d	iiij
Sir Godfray Fuljame	xxvj ^{li} xiijs ^s iiij ^d	iiij
Sir Thomas Tempest	xxvj ^{li} xiijs ^s iiij ^d	iiij
Sir William Evers	x ^{li}	ij
The Deane of York	nil	iiij
Mr. Magnus	nil	iiij
Doctor Tate	nil	ij
Serjaunt Fayrefax	x ^{li}	ij
Robart Bowes	x ^{li}	ij

Every of theis hadde iiij^s by the day for hym self, and xij^d for every of their servauntes in the tyme of joryng or sitting in the causes of justyce.

John Uvedale, secretary	x ^{li}	ij
Water Luke, attorney	x ^{li}	ij
William Bapthorpe†	v ^{li}	ij

Every of theis hadde ij^s by the day for hym selfe, and xij^d for every of their servauntes.

* *i.e.* sitting by the *jour* or day.

† Afterwards sir William Bapthorpe, of Bapthorpe, co. York : see his pedigree in the Plumpton Correspondence, p. xii.

Every of theis [this applies to the whole number] hadde lyveries to their chambre as followeth : fyrst their brekefast one loffe, one manchet, a gallon of bere and a pece of beffe ; and at nyght one loffe, one manchet, a gallon of bere, a quarte of wyne, di. lb. of white lyghtes, ii. sysses, and iiij falgottes.

[At the Rolls House in two copies, Second Series, Nos. 233 and 470.]

The names [of] gentilmen, yomen, and gromes, laite servantes to the duke of Richmonde.

Gentilmen usshers, seuers, carvers, cup-bearers, and gentilmen waiters.

Maried.

Giles Foster, M^r of the horses, Stueard of Merton in Westmerland, with the fee iij li. vj s. viij d. per ann.

Christopher Wentworth.

Antony Dryland, bailie of Coliweston, keper of the park and place, with the fee of vj d. by the day.

Rauff Eldercarre.

William Willowby.

Thomas Delarivers.

Rauff Bulmer.

Hew Caveley.

Philip Gray.

Martyn Hastings.

George Foreste.

Richard Rose, marshall.

Not maried.

William Blunt.

George Clapham.

George Hartwell.

John Travers.

Nicolas Throgmorton.

Thomas Darcy.

John Jenny.

Harry Partriche.

Thomas Henns, secretarie.

William Sanders.

Clerkes of the Kechen.

Maried.

Thomas Oglestrophe.

William Lawson, bailie of Raustall in reversion, ij d. per diem.

Not maried.

Robart Metcalf, bailie of Cottingham, with the fee of ij d. by the day.

Yomen of the Chambre.

Maried.

Roger Wytherton, yoman of the chambre.

Nicholas Eton, yoman of the chambre and yoman hunte.

Robart Johns, yoman of the chambre.

Davy Lloidd.

John Hyrde.

William Clark.

Alen Arie.

Robart Tournour.

Robart Norton.

William Dryffelde.

Rowland Atkynson.

Thomas Hardwike.

Bastian Byrde, tabrit.

Not maried.

John Whitbred, yoman of the chambre.

Nicolas Foskew.

Robert Lymdyn.

Roger Shelton.

John Hunte.

Richard Fuller.

Stephen Fox.

Thomas Fysshier.

Gauwen Longeastre.
 George Hudson, fotman.
 Owen Eton, yoman of the chambre.

Yomen in all offices of thoushold.

Maried.

Hew Johns, yoman of the wardrope of robes, and bailie of Lamemarshe and Colnewake, and keper of a wodd called Lamemarsch park, with a fee of vj d. by the daye, and bailie of Thorpwatterfelde, otherwaies called Achurche, and Rudlington, with the fee of iiij d. per diem.

Richard Maye, yoman of the horses, and the reversion of the bailiwiki of Fremyngton, with the fee of iiij d. per diem.

Peter Steppey, yoman of the wardrope of beddes.

John Smyth, yoman ussher of the haulte.

Benet Russley, yoman almoner.

William Barrett, yoman of the sellour.

William Barker, yoman porter.

John Langton, cheffe coke.

John Armstrong, yoman of the larder.

Robart Fox, yoman slaughterman.

Arnolde Stowte, yoman brewer.

Not maried.

William Haulte, yoman of the pauntre.

Cutbart Mylner, yoman of the sellour.

John Lee, yoman of the buttre.

William Lambert, yoman of the ewrie.

William Jenke, yoman of the squyllerie.

John Davy, yoman of the bakehouse.

George Walles, the faconer.

George Wattson, yoman porter.

Gromes in alle offices of thoushold.

Maried.

Water Abre, grome of the chambre.

John Scoller, grome ussher in the haulte, and bailif of Leidnam, with the fee of xxvj s. viij d. per annum.

James Blyssyd, yoman of the ewrie.

John Robynson, yoman of the larderr.

Richard Flower, catour.

Phelipe Stockedalle, grome of the stable.

Not maried.

Henry Wheller, bailie of Torryngton, with the fee of iiij d. by the day, Robart Maddockes, gromes of my lordes bedchamber.

Hewe Pye, grome of the chambre.

Richard Felippes, barbour.

Thomas Cliff, grome of the wardrope of beddes.

Raundalle Burrowes, grome of the pantre, and bailie of Orwill, with the fee of xlvj s. viij d. per ann.

William Cockes, grome of the buttre.

Nicolas Carrow,
 George Webster,
 Sander Watson,

} gromes of the
 keehyn.

John Day, grome of the slaughterhouse.

Christopher Metcalfe, grome of the bakehouse.

George Colins, ryder of the great horses.

Henry Fynche,

Richard Gray,

William Harryson,

John Duffelde,

Petty John,

William Poynte, ferer.

} gromes of the
 stable.

Roger Cobb, keper of my lordes grewhoundes.

Somme totale of all persones aforesaid iiij^{xx}xiiij, Whereof

Gentilmen	xxij
Clarkes of thousholde	iiij
Yomen of the chambre and in all offices of thousholde	xliij
Gromes as welle of the chambre as of thoushold	xxvj

[MSS. in the Rolls House, First Series, No. 216.]

Indorsed, To know what the King will doe with the Duke of Richemondes servantes.

Fyrst, to knowe how longe my lordes house shalle remane to gether, and what order shalbe takyne with all his servauntes at their departure.

Item, to knowe what lyveres of blake clothe shalbe gevyn to the hedde officers, counsaillors, and servantes.

Item, to knowe whether the kinges highnes will take a sertyne of my lordes servauntes, suche as be vewily men, and men of good honesty, to his garde.

Item, to knowe the kinges gracious pleasure what George Cotton laite governour to the said duke, and Richard Cotton late comptroller of the said howse, shall do, whether his grace will take them to his service or other wyse bestowed at his pleasure.

Item, to knowe howe gracious lorde he wilbe unto the said George and Richard, and alle other his servauntes, for suche offices as the said duke their Mr. heithe given them, that is to say,

To the said George Cotton the Baylif of Boston, with the house, ix li. per annum. The bailyf of Martocke, xls. per annum. The bailyf of Samforde Petherille, xls. The Stewarde and Receyvour of the Holte and Chirk, per annum xlviiij li. xiiij s. iiij d. The keping of Merslay park iiij li. per annum. Annuytte of xx li. per annum, that Rochester laite gentilman yssher hadd for terme of his lyfe.

Summa totalis lxiiij li. xiiij s. iiij d.

Whereof given to deputies therof, xx li.

And so remanythe clere to the said George, xliij li. xiiij s. iiij d.

Item, to Richard Cotton, Steuarde, bailyf, keper, and Mr of the game of Bedhampton, with the ferme, paying the rentes therfore, per ann. x li. xiiij s. iiij d. And the baylif and keper of the parke of Bovitraci per annum vj li.

Summa totalis xvj li. xiiij s. iiij d.

Whereof gevyn to deputies thereof, vij s.

And so remanythe clere to the said Richard, ix li. xiiij s. iiij d.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE CREATION OF THE
DUKE OF RICHMOND, &c.

LETTERS PATENT FOR THE EARLDOM OF NOTTINGHAM.

[Rot. Pat. 27 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 1.]

Rex omnibus et singulis archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, prioribus, ducibus, marchionibus, comitibus, baronibus, justiciariis, vicecomitibus, prepositis, ballivis, ministris, ac omnibus aliis fidelibus suis ad quos præsentes literæ pervenerint, salutem. Cum nichil sit in principe dignius quam eam ubique virtutis rationem habere, ut quanto suorum quisque subditorum ad virtutem fuerit propensior tanto cumulacius honoribus decoretur, ac maxime ubi præclara virtutis indoles sanguine conjunctos insigniverit, sitque inter intime dilectos nostros Henricus FitzRoy prænobilis ordinis nostri Garterii miles, de nostro stemmate ortus, quem ut natura nobis arctissime copulavit ita ejusdem præclarissima indoles conciliavit reddiditque carum; regii muneris esse censemus ut sanguinem nostrum tam claro virtutum specimine ornatum agnoscentes insignibus dignitatum et honorum titulis illustremus. Idcirco nos, de gratia nostra speciali ac ex certa sciencia et mero motu nostris, ipsum Henricum FitzRoy in comitem Notyngham ereximus præfecimus et creavimus ac per præsentes erigimus præficimus et creamus; necnon eidem Henrico statum stilum titulum honorem et dignitatem comitis Notyngham, cum omnibus et singulis præeminenciis honoribus ceterisque hujusmodi quibuscumque statui comitis pertinentiis sive spectantibus, damus et concedimus per præsentes, ipsumque Henricum FitzRoy in hujusmodi statu stilo titulo honore et dignitate per cincturam gladii insignimus investimus et realiter nobilitamus, Habendum et tenendum nomen statum stilum titulum honorem et dignitatem comitis Notyngham prædictum cum omnibus et singulis præeminenciis honoribus ceterisque quibuscumque hujusmodi statui comitis pertinentiis sive spectantibus præfato Henrico FitzRoy et heredibus masculis de corpore suo exeuntibus imperpetuum. Et quia crescente status celsitudine ex consequenti necessario crescunt sumptus et onera grandiora, et ut idem Henricus FitzRoy melius decencius et honorifi-

cencius statum prædicti comitis Notyngham ac onera ipsius Henrici incumbentia manutenere et sustentare valeat et possit, de uberiori gratia nostra dedimus et concessimus ac per præsentem damus et concedimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris præfato Henrico et heredibus suis prædictis viginti libras sterlingorum habendum et percipiendum annuatim sibi et heredibus suis prædictis imperpetuum de exitibus et proficuis revencionibus firmis et finibus comitatum nostrorum Notynghamiæ et Derbiæ per manus vicecomitum eorundem comitatum et eorum utriusque pro tempore existentium ad festa Sancti Michaelis Archangeli et Paschæ per equales porciones. (Then follow the same witnesses as in the succeeding patent.)

LETTERS PATENT FOR THE DUKEDOM OF RICHMOND AND SOMERSET.

[Rot. Pat. 27 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 1.]

Rex omnibus et singulis archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, prioribus, ducibus, marchionibus, comitibus, vicecomitibus, baronibus, justiciariis, prepositis, ballivis, ministris, et omnibus aliis fidelibus suis ad quos præsentem literæ pervenerint salutem. Cum optimi cujuscunque principis illud inter cætera proprium peculiareque munus censeatur, subditum quemque suum in quo ulla virtutis spes significatioque fulserit dignitate ac honoribus illustrare, eos imprimis ad splendoris dignitatisque fastigia provehere decet, quorum insigni præstantique virtutum indoli proprio proxima quoque sanguinis accesserit conjunctio. Unde fit ut nullo pacto prætermittere possumus quominus tam præclaram ad virtutem propensionem (quæ in nobili ac plurimum nobis dilecto Henrico FitzRoy prænobilis ordinis nostri Garterii milite, comite Notynghamiæ, regia nostra prosapia genito, omni ex parte apprime digna relucet,) meritis honoribus decoremus ac præclaris titulis pretiosisque insigniis exornemus. Ad quod licet innatus et ingens noster in eum affectus urgensque naturæ impulsus queat nos satis incitare, undique tamen in tenera adhuc ætate prominenti ac in nostro præsertim sanguine virtutum omnium compositissimi optimique ingenii ac illustrissimi animi fulgentissimo specimine quam maxime judicium haud dubie fore confidentes, ut huic nostro iudicio et de se conceptæ opinioni rebus ipsis accidentibus annis indies ille uberius respondeat de suisque virtutibus exhibita spei nostro cum desiderio quandoque præstet cumulatus. Proinde nos de gratia nostra speciali ac ex

certa scientia et mero motu nostris dictum præcharissimum nostrum Henricum FitzRoy comitem Notinghamiæ in ducem Richmondiæ et Somersetiæ erigimus creamus insignimus præficimus et ordinamus, necnon nomen titulum statum stilum honorem auctoritatem et dignitatem ducis Richmondiæ et Somersetiæ eidem Henrico damus et concedimus per præsentem, ac eum de nomine ducis Richmondiæ et Somersetiæ cum titulo statu stilo honore auctoritate et dignitate ceterisque honoribus eidem appendatis et annexis per gladii cincturam, capæ et circuli aurei impositionem in capite, et traditionem virgæ aureæ realiter investimus. Habendum et tenendum nomen ac statum titulum stilum honorem auctoritatem et dignitatem ducis Richmondiæ et Somersetiæ præfato Henrico et heredibus suis masculis de corpore suo exeuntibus inperpetuum. Et ut idem Henricus juxta dictum nomen ducis Richmondiæ et Somersetiæ decentiam et status sui nobilitatem possit honorificentius se habere, dedimus et concessimus et hac præsentem carta nostra damus concedimus et confirmamus pro nobis et heredibus nostris præfato duci Richmondiæ et Somersetiæ et heredibus suis prædictis quadraginta libras annuas percipiendas annuatim sibi et heredibus suis prædictis de exitibus proficuis et revencionibus comitatuum nostrorum Eboraci Somersetiæ et Dorsetiæ provenientibus, per manus vicecomitum eorundem comitatuum pro tempore existentium, ad terminos Sancti Michaelis Archangeli et Paschæ per equales portiones. Eo quod expressa mentio de vero valore annuo aut de certitudine præmissorum sive eorum alicujus aut de aliis donis sive concessionibus per nos eidem Henrico ante hæc tempora factis in præsentibus minime existit, aliquo statuto actu ordinatione provisione sive restrictione inde in contrarium habitis factis ordinatis sive provisus, aut aliqua alia re causa vel materia quacunque in aliqua non obstante. Hiis testibus, reverendissimis in Christo patribus Thoma sacrosanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ tituli Sanctæ Cecilie presbitero cardinale Eboraci, Angliæ primate et Apostolicæ sedis etiam a latere legato, cancellario Angliæ, et Willielmo Cantuariense totius Angliæ primate et Apostolicæ sedis legato archiepiscopis, Thoma Norfolciæ thesaurario Angliæ et Carolo Suffolciæ marescallo Angliæ ducibus, Carolo Wigornensi camerario nostro et Georgio Salopiniensi senescalco hospitii nostri comitibus, Thoma West de la Warre milite et Willelmo Sands de Vine milite baronibus, Thoma Boleyn thesaurario hospitii nostri et Henrico Guldeford contrarotulatore ejusdem hospitii

nostri militibus. Datum per manum nostram apud Palatium nostrum de Bridewell, xvij^o die Junii, anno regni sui xvij^o.

PATENT GRANTING THE DUKE OF RICHMOND PRECEDENCE BEFORE ALL OTHER DUKES, EXCEPT THE LEGITIMATE SONS OF THE KING AND HIS HEIRS.

[This patent was not entered on the rolls. It is here printed from a manuscript copy in the Rolls House, No. 204.]

After reciting the patent of the dukedom (of which a copy occurs in the same collection, No. 136,) it thus proceeds:—

“Nos proximitatem sanguinis quam idem præcharissimus in nos attingat inter alia specialiter ponderantes, et ne ipse et heredes sui prædicti de sede prærogativa et præeminentia quibus ipsi ratione et prætextu dicti status ducatus Richmondiæ et Somersetiæ uti et gaudere debent in futurum ex nunc aliquialiter perturbentur inpetrantur molestentur impediuntur seu aliquid prægraventur, ex certa scientia nostra ac advisamento et consensu procerum nobilium et consiliariorum nostrorum concedimus eidem præcharissimo nostro et heredibus suis prædictis quod idem præcharissimus et heredes sui in quibuscumque parliamentis heredum et successorum nostrorum ac consiliis regiis et aliis locis quibuscumque, tam in præsentia nostra heredum et successorum nostrorum quam aliter, habeant sedem prærogativam et præeminentiam stando sedendo ac alias res quascumque hujusmodi sedem prærogativam et præeminentiam concernentes exercendo sive exequendo, et stent et sedeant in omni hujusmodi parlamento consilio et aliis locis ante et præ quibuscumque personis et quocumque persona in statu ducis in regnis nostris Angliæ et Franciæ seu in eorum altero, ac in duces vel ducem eorundem regnorum seu eorum alterius præantea erectis ordinatis sive creatis et eorum heredibus, ac quibuscumque aliis in posterum ordinandis erigendis creandis seu præficiendis et eorum heredibus, personis de corpore nostro seu heredum vel successorum nostrorum duntaxat exceptis,” &c. &c.

PROGRAMME FOR THE CREATION OF THE DUKE OF RICHMOND, THE MARQUESS OF EXETER, THE EARLS OF RUTLAND AND CUMBERLAND, AND THE VISCOUNTS FITZWALTER AND ROCHFORD, AT THE PALACE OF BRIDEWELL, ON SUNDAY THE 18TH OF JUNE, 1525.

[From the MS. in Coll. Arm. 2d M. 16, f. lxxviii. and an imperfect Copy in Addit. MS. Brit. Mus. 6113, f. 65.]

Thordere of the Creacione of the lorde Henry FitzRoy to be creatid Erle of Nottyngham.

Furst, upone Sondaye in the mornynge, by ix of the clock, the seid lord to be conveyed from his lodginge by his owne servauntes and such other as it schalle please the kynges highnes to apoynt, to Brydewell, and there to be broughte into his chambre in the newe gally, where his roobes schal be put upon. And alle the lordes, as well thoes which schalle be created, as others that schalbe appointed to geve attendaunce upon them, to be in the seid gally in lyke wyse. And there to put upon theire robes. And then the seide lorde to be led fourth of his seid chambre by twene ij erles, that is to say the erle of Arundelle and therle of Oxford, therle of Northumbreland to bare his sward, sir Thomas Garter principalle kyng of armes to bare his patent afore hym, and present the same to the kyng. And it to be reade by suche as schalle please his grace to appoynt. And at the wordes of *cincturam gladii* the kyng to putt the seid sward above in bende manner, that is to say, on his right scholder and under his lyfte arme. And, that done, the seid erle was by the seid erles of Arundelle and Oxford conveyed unto his said chambre.

For the Creacion of the seid Erle of Nottingham to be created Duke of Rychemount.

The seid erle conveyed as is aforeseid unto his seide chambre, there to be receved betwyne the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and so eftesones betwene them to be conveyed unto the kynges presence. The marques of Dorsett to bare the sward, the pomelle upwards; therle of Arundell to bare the cappe with the coronalle; the erle of Oxenforde to bare the verge of goold; therle of Northumberland to bere the mantelle; and sir Thomas Garter to beare the patent. And it to be delyvered and redde as is aforeseid

in the first creation. And at thees wordes, *investimus*, the kynge to put uppon his mantill, at *gladii cincturam* the seid sword to be by the kynge put about his necke, at *cappe [et] circuli impositionem in capite* the kynge to put the seid coronalle upon his hed, at *tradicionem virge auree* the kynge to delyver hym the golden rodde in his right honde. And the seid patent fully read, the kynges grace to delyvyr unto hym the same in his right honde. And then he to hold the said rodde in his left hande, and the said patent in his right hande; and alle thees serymonies done, the said duke to stand by, accordyng to his estate, unto such tyme as the residew after wryten were creatid.

For the Creacion of the Marquies of Exeter.

Furst to convey hym to the kynges presense	{	the duke of Suffolk
		the erle of Northumberland
Item to beare his sword		the erle of Oxforde
Item to beare his circulet		the erle of Westmerlande

For the Creacion of therle of Lincolne.

Item to beare hym	Sr John Vere
Item to lede hym	{ Therle of Arundelle
	{ Therle of Oxforde
Item to beare his sword	Therle of Northumberlande

For the Creacion of therle of Rutland.

Item to lede him	{ Therle of Arundelle
	{ Therle of Oxford
Item to beare his sword	Therle of Westmerland

For therle of Cumberland.

Item to lede hym	{ Therle of Oxenford
	{ Therle of Northumberland
Item to beare his sword	Therle of Shrouesbury

For the Viscont FitzWalter.

Item to lede hym	{ Therle of Shreusbury
	{ The lord of Burgaveny
Item to beare his mantille	The lord Dacre

For the Viscont Rochford.

Item to lede hym	{ Therle of Westmerland
	{ The lord Ferres
Item to beyr his mantell	The lorde Hastynges

M^d. All their patentés presented to the kinges persone by sir Thomas Wriothesley, Gartier principalle Kyng of Armes.

ORDER OF THE CREATION OF THE DUKE OF RICHMOND, &c.

[MS. Cotton. Tiberius E. viii.]

The orther of the creacion of the lord Henry FitzRoy to be created erle of Notyngam.

Md' the yere of our Lord a M.v^c.xxvth, the xvij yer of oure soveran lord King Henry the viijth, on Sondag the xvij day of June, at the kinges palace in Londoun named Brydewelle, was created the lord Henry FitzRoy erle of Nottynam and duc of Rychmound, with other dyvers lordys in seche maner as hereafter folowthe.

It' the Sounday the xvij day of June the lord Henry FitzRoy cam frome Dorames place, wher at he keppe hys howswolde, to the kinges palace caled Brydewelle att ix of the klok, or ther apone, in companie with onerabylle knyghtes, sqwyars, and gentyllmen to a great noumbre, and entryng in to the sayd palace, passing thorow the grett chamber, and so entryng in to the chamber of astat wher as was at thende of the sayd chamber a goodly gallyry, called the nu gallery, wher in the sayd lord Henry FitzRoy rested in a chamber by hyme selffe, and ther was put on hym hys robes that partened the stat of an erlle, and all the other lordes having on ther robys ther gave on hyme ther attendance, and so ther taryng [un to] seche tyme that word came from the kyng that hys grace was redy to [give?] them ther creacion.

The ordere of the chamber afor the entryng of the sayd lordes.

The sayd chamber was hangde with ryche arys the [which] was

worthet* with golde and sylke, and so was all the as and galares
in a lyke maner, for so ryche ares hathe beyn seldum seyn, the wych
wh[as†] danyache and of the destrochon of Troy, and at the upper ynde
of the sayd chamber ha[ng a cloth] of astat of ryche clothe a golde of
tysseu, and under the sayd clothe of astat whas a [chare of] clothe a golde
of tysseu, and the pomelles of the sayd chare gylttyd with fyne gold.

[By t]he sayd chare under the clothe of astat stood the kynges grace,
and on hys ryghte hande [within the] compasse a sertyn space of the clothe
of astat stood the lorde lagatt,‡ and be syde hym [the beschop of] Carlell,§
the beschop of Sentas,|| the beschop of (*blank*), the abbot of Westmynster,¶
wy[th dyver]s other abottes and prelettes of the cherche, and on the lefte
hand on the kynges [dyvers] temporall lordys, that ys to say, Thomas duc
of Norfolk tresserer and he stuard, and Charllys duc of Suffolk marcyall
of Yngland, Gorge erlle of Schorysbere s[tuard of the k]ynges noble hos-
wold, therle of Arendell, therle of Oxinford chamberlen of Yngland,
[therle of Nort]he thomberland, therlle of Westmerland, the lord Fitz-
Water, the lord Sandys, the l Haward, with dyvers lordys,
knyghtes, and squiers to a gret noubre.

[At the] commandement of the vezchamberlayn jentylmen oschers mayd
all the pepull to stand a both [sides the cha]mber, so that ther whas frome
the loware end of the chamber derecly upp to the [upper end] wher as the
kyng grace stood a space mayd that iiij men myght go arme in arme [in
o]rder by the jentylmen oschers. Also the trompettes wher apoynted to
stande in the wyndow, the whych whas ryght agen the clothe of
astate ther as the kyng [stood, and t]her to blow as they where comandyd
at seche tymes as whas convenyant.

Item the chamber thus putt in good sorte and good order, then whas
trompettes comandyd to blow and ch down. Then came the lorde
Henry FitzRoy frome his chamber, havynge on hyme hys robys parteyn-
yng to the statte of an erlle, leyd betwen ij erlles, that ys to say therlle of
Arundell and therlle of Oxinford, they havynge on them ther robys, therlle
of Arundell on the ryght hande and therlle of Oxinford on the left hande,
and therlle of Norththe thomberland in hys robes beryng the sayd erlles
sward befor hyme, sir Thomas Garter kyng at armes, beryng the sayd

* *i. e.* worked. † The MS. has been injured by the Cottonian fire. ‡ Wolsey.

§ John Kite.

|| Henry Standish.

¶ William Benson or Boston.

erlles patent, with Clarenceux kyng at armes, Noray king at armes, Somerset, Carlell, Lancaster, Montorgell, Wynsore herrolde at armes, all thes wheryng on them the kinges cotte of armes, sayying Somerset at that tyme ware on him the sayd erlles cott at armes, that ys to say, the cotte of armes of the lord Henry FitzRoy.*

Item in thys order and maner the lorde Henry FitzRoy whas broght forthe of the sayd galary in to the kynges chamber, wher as hys grace whas standyng under hys clothe of astat in [order] as ys a booff wryten, and so the sayd lordys aprochyng to the kynges presance with seche onarable revarance as parteynythe to sech a kynges astatt; and when they come neyr to hys [grace] the sayd lordys knelyd down to the ground, and so ros up agen, the sayd lord Henry then standing styll be twen the sayd ij erlles that layd him. Then Garter kyng at armes presentyd his patent to the kinges grace, the wych my lorde cardenall resavyd, delyveryng hyt to master Mowre, the wyche red the sayd patent on hyght, ressytyng therin all the tytyll and o[nours the] kyng hade gyve to hym tochyng the state† of an erlle, and when he red un to thes wordys *per cincturam gladii*, then therlle of Northe thomberland presantyd the sward un to the kynges grace, and so hys grace towk the sward and putt it a bowt the lord Henry's neck in bend maner, that ys to say, over hys ryght scholder and under hys lefte arm. Then the kyng delyvered to hyme hys patent in hys ryght hand, and all thes sarmon[es ‡ ended, there] blu the trompettes. And so departed the said erlle owt of the kinges presance [conveyed] in all sech lyk maner and forme as he whas broght to the kinge presance [before] he was creatyd erlle.

The order and maner of the creacion of therll of Nottyingam to be created
duc of Richmond and duc of Somerset.

Item when the sayd erlle whas conveyd to hys chamber as ys above wretyn [in such] a parell as he whas creatyd in erlle, and then whas broght to hyme the r[obes pertaining] to the state of a duc, of the wyche robys he ded on hys syrcot, and then th[er came to] hym the duc of Norfolke, tresasar of Yngland, and the duc of Suffolk, marsch[all of

* Because he was created duke of Somerset. See hereafter, p. lxxxvii.

† MS. stast.

‡ ceremonies.

Yngland], they ledyng hyme be twen them, the duc of Norfolk on the ryght hand and the [duc of Suffolk on] the left hand, the marquis Dorsett beryng hys swarde the pomyll upward , and then by for the sward therlle of Arundell beryng the cappe with the cron[alle, therlle of] Oxinford bare the verge of golde, thes to erllys goyng juntely * to gedyr, save that therlle of Arundell whent on the ryght hand on the verge of golde, and be for them the [earl of Northumbreland] bare the mantell, and then Garter king at armes bare the patent, then w[ent Clarenceux king] at armes, Noray king at armes, Somersett, Carllel, Langlester, Wynsor haroldes, [every of] thes offycers of armes wheryng on them the kynges cott of armes, so in th[is order] and maner passyng forthe of the sayd galyre to the kinges chamber, where as hys grace was standyng under a cloth of astate encompanet with the perys of hys reallme speretuall and temporall as for ys wryten, and when they wher in hys presance they dooyng seche onarabyll reverance as parteynethe to the state of seche a king, and so when they come neyr to hys presance the knelyd to the gronde, and so ryssyng upp a gayne. And so the said erle standyng styll between they ij ducs that layd hyme, then Garter king at armes, presentyng the patent un to the kinges grace, the wych patent resavyd my lord cardenall, and so delyvered to mayster Moure, the whych red the sayd patent on heght, declaryng all the tytelles and oners that the kinges grace hathe gyven† to hyme tochyng the state of a duc, and when he red this word *investimus* then therlle of Northomberland presantyd hys mantell to the kinges grace, and the king dyd putt the mantell on hyme, and at thys word *gladii cincturam* my lord marquis presentet the sward to the king, and hys grace putt hyt about the sayd lordes nek, and so h[ong it] afor hym, and when he red thes words, *cappe et circuli impositionem capite*, then therle of Arundell presentet the cappe wythe the cronalle to the king, then hys grace took hyt and [put] hyt on hys hed, and at thys worde, *traditionem virge auree*, then therle of Oxinford presanted the sayd golden rode to the king.

It' then the king delyvered the sayd rode of gold in hys right hand, and then when the patent whas fulle red my lorde cardenall toke the patant and delyverd hyt to the kynges grace, and then the king delyverd the sayd

* i. e. jointly.

† MS. gyng.

patant to hyme in hys ryght hand, and then he toke the rode of gold and held hett in hys left hand, and thus he was created duc. And all the sar[monies* ended, the] sayd duc stood a syde in the kynges presance, a buff all the oder perys of the realm [according to] hys astate, to all the oder lordys wer create as her after folothe.

It' for the creacyon of the marquis of Excester, the wych was therle of Denvynscher.

[Within the †] galary a boof wretyn the lorde William erle of Denvynscher hayd broght to [him the robes fo]r the state of a marquis, and ther wher putte on hyme; and that down ther w[ent unto h]yme the duc of Suffolk and therle of Northumberland, the wych conveyed h[ym forward] to the kynges presance; therle of Oxinford bare his sward, therlle of Westmerl[and bare the] cappe wyth the syrklett, sir Thomas Garter king at armes bare hys patant, [with the other] kinges and harolds, conveyng hyme to the kinges presance in lyk order as is a b[ove said; and w]hen they come to the kynges presauce ther doying ther duti as parteynet to hys a[state, then G]arter king at armes presentyng hys patent to the kinges grace, the wych my l[orde cardin]all resavyd, delyveryng hyt to maister Mowre, he redyng the sayd pattant on h[igh, recitin]g all seche tytells and oners as the kyng had onored hyme withall, and when [he came to the wo]rde at *gladii cincturam*, therle of Oxinford presantyng the sward to the k[ying, and the kyn]g takyng the sayd sward and put hyt abutt the sayd erlys nek, the wych [hung th]er of bend wyse, and when he red at *cappe et circuli impositionem capite*, therlle of Westmerland presantyng the cape and syrculet to the kyng, the wych the kyng [plac]ed on the sayd erlle, and then when hys pattent was full red hys [grace gave] the sayd pattent in to hys ryght hand, and so was he created ma[rquis].

The creacion of therlle of Lingcolne, sone and eyr of Charlys duc of Suffolk, and Marschall of Yngland.

Item Henry, son and eyr to the duc of Suffolk, was broght in to the

* ceremonies.

† The lower part of the leaf is much injured by fire, and renders many conjectural words necessary to complete the sense.

galary abouff w[ritten,] and ther he was vested with seche robes as partanythe to the state of an erle. When he had on hym hys robys then come to hym therle of Arundell and therle of Oxynford to leyd hym to the kynges presance, but by cauce he was so yone* ther was a knight a poynted, called sir John Ve[re], the wyche bare hym in hys armes between the sayd ij erles to the kinges presance; therlle of Northomberland bare hys sward, Garter king at armes bare hys patent, Clarenceux kyng at armes, Noray king at armes, Carlell, Lancaster, Wynsore haroldes of armes, goyng afor them; then blu up the trompettes, and so in thys order and maner they broght hym to the kinges presance, ther doying ther du reverance to the kynges astat; and when they wher neyr the kinges presance, then the sayd yong lorde whas sett down, and stode between therle of Arundell and therll of Oxynford, and then Garter king at armes presented his patant to the kinges grace, the wych my lorde cardenall resavyd, delyveryng hyt to maistre [More], the wych rede the sayd patant on heght, resyting ther in seche tytilles and oners as the king onered hym wyth all, and when that he red thys wordes *cincturam gladii*, then therlle of Northomberland presentyd the sward to the king, then the king grace putt hytt aboutt the yonge lordes nek in the maner of bend, that ys to say ovar hys ryght scholder, [and to h]yng down over hys lefte arme, and then hys patent fully red, the king delivered h[yt in to] the sayd yonge lorde in hys ryght hand, and so the sayd yong lorde whas created erle.

The creacion of the lorde Ros to be Erle of Rutland.

After the creacion of therlle of Lyngcoln, then blue the trompettes, and so [came fort]he the lord Ros layd between therll of Arundell and therlle of Oxynford, [and the earl of Westmerland b]are hys sward, and so forthe in al oder sarmones † and order ‡ as ys a bove [rehearsed, he was created to the] state of an erle; and thys creacion so down, then blu the trompettes.

The creacion of the lord Cleford to be creatyd Erle of Combarland.

Item then was broght forthe of the sayd galary the lord Cleford, lede between [the earl of Oxford] and therlle of Northomberland, and therle of

* young.

† ceremonies.

‡ MS. oder.

Schorysbery bare the sward, and [Garter king at arms] the patent, and in all oder sarmones* and order as whas eusyd and do[un as above] wretyn, he was creatyd Erlle of Comberland.

The order of the creacion of the lord FitzWater to be created Vycount.

(*Cætera desunt.*)

FEES PAID FOR THE DUKE'S CREATION AND INSTALLATION.

[Wolsey MSS. from the Chapter House, Westminster, now at the Rolls House, No. 231.]

Charges for the creacion off the ryght highe and myghty prince the duke of Richemount and Somerset, erle of Notyngham:—

In primis, off the kynges larges v li.

Item ffor his creacion of Erll, to the office of Armys in generall x li.

Item ffor his creacon of Erll, to sir Thomas gartier principall kyng of Armys, hys apparell.

Item ffor his creacion of duke, to the hoolle office off Armys as well ffor his sayd creacion as for the publycation off his style (*blank*)

M^d a Duke of the blod Royall pays xx li.

And every other Duke xx. marcs.

Item ffor the seyd sir Thomas gartier hys apparell.

Item ffor a rewarde to all such officers as gave hym attendaunce at hys dynner, as jentylmen ushers and othyr.

Item ffor a rewarde to alle the trumpettes.

Charges appertayning to the seyd prince
ffor his Installacion at Wyndsour:—

In primis to the Channons off the College for setting up hys baner, helm, and crest, &c. x li.

Item to syr Thomas gartier principall kyng of Arms and kyng of Armes of Thordre, the gowne that he enteryt he in to the Chapter house.

Item to the vicars off the vicars of college xxvj s. viij d.

Item to the Register ij. olld nobylles.

Item to the office of Armys xlv s.

Item to the sexten vj s. viij d.

Item to the queresters xiiij s. iiij d.

* ceremonies.

Item upon a comon pursse all such officers off the kynges as gyve their attendaunce to be rewardid so that for the sayd lordes part wyll not amount past xlv s.

HERALDS AND PURSUIVANTS OF THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND SOMERSET, AND
EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

It has been mentioned in the preceeding ceremonial of the creation of the duke, that on that occasion the heralds all wore the king's coat of arms as usual, excepting Somerset, who wore the coat of arms of the lord Henry FitzRoy, to whom the title of duke of Somerset was about to be given.

It was usual for the great nobility to have officers of arms in their households. It appears that the duke had both a herald and a pursuivant assigned to his service; and from the valuable collections made by Anstis for the history of the heralds, and now preserved in the College of Arms, we are enabled to gather the following notices respecting these officers:—

John Pound was already Somerset herald, and Richard de la Towre was appointed Nottingham pursuivant on the 5th July, 1525, with a yearly fee of 10*l*. On his death the same office was granted on the 29th April, 1526, to William Hasyng* alias Rougedragon. In 1528, Hasyng succeeded Pound as Somerset; and Richard Croke became the pursuivant, for whom, by warrant dated at Greenwich, 17 May, 1528, the wardrobe provided a coat of the arms of his master painted on sarcenet.

“Per warrantum datum apud Greenwich 17 Maii, anno xx° Hen. 8, pro Richardo Crokis etiam Nottingham pursevante ad arma,—Johanni Browne pictori domini Regis pro una tunica de armis de sarsanet de *Arma Ducis de Richemount et Somerset* pretii x*l* s.”

After Croke's death Thomas Treheron, or Trehearne, had the office of Nottingham pursuivant by a patent dated 30 April, 22 Hen. VIII. (1530); and he was likewise advanced to be Somerset herald by patent dated Oct.

* This William Hasyng had been formerly Buckingham herald in the service of Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham, before that nobleman's fall in 1521. His petition for the office of Rougedragon is preserved among the MSS. in the Rolls House, No. 1039.

3, 24 Hen. VIII. (1532). He is in the heralds' Partition-book expressly called Somerset herald to the duke of Richmond: but, surviving the duke, he retained his office under the crown. The office of Nottingham pur-suivant was on the 3d Oct. 24 Hen. VIII. (1532) conferred on John Davy; on whose death in 1537 this office ceased. (Anstis's MS. collections for the history and biography of the heralds, in the College of Arms, vol. ii. p. 593, and vol. iii. pp. 225, 279.)

THE HERALDIC INSIGNIA OF THE DUKE OF RICHMOND.

The Coat of Arms assigned to Henry FitzRoy, duke of Richmond and Somerset and earl of Nottingham, was blazoned thus: France and England quarterly, debruised by a baton sinister argent, within a bordure also quarterly, first of ermine, secondly and thirdly compony or and azure, and fourthly gobony argent and azure; an inescutcheon of pretence quarterly gules and vairé or and vert, charged with a lion rampant argent, on a chief azure a castle between two buck's heads caboshed argent.

His crest, on a cap of dignity gules, turned ermine, a lion guardant argent, gorged with a coronal and chained or. (Coll. Arms, E. 14, p. 110, and MS. Harl. 1447, f. 50 b.)

Supporters, Dexter, a lion argent, gorged with a coronal and chained or; Sinister, a yale* argent bezantée, accorned, hoofed, gorged with a coronal and chained or. "A whyt lyon regardant† w^t the coronalle and cheyne perteyneth to the duc of Rychemont." (See the etching which faces the title-page.) MS. I. 2, in College of Arms, fol. 5; on the reverse of which leaf is depicted a corresponding banner held by the "yale," on which the duke's arms are impaled with those of his wife,—quarterly of four, Howard, Brotherton, Warren, and Mowbray, with this superscription, "Yale pertayneth to the duke of Somerset." (Prince Arthur's Book, Vincent 152, and Standards I. 2, both in the College of Arms.)

Standard, the field "silvre and blw and gold of iii. pesys:" the principal

* I am not aware that this animal is elsewhere known either in natural or heraldic zoology. Sandford, in his Genealogical History, when describing the armorial insignia of the duke of Richmond, terms the beast an antelope; but it differs from the heraldic antelope (in the drawings above mentioned) in having horns like those of a ram, and a tail like a dog's.

† This term is simply equivalent to the present "guardant."

device a lion passant guardant gules, gorged with a coronal and chained or; the badge, a open rose per fess gules and argent, seeded and slipped proper; from the centre of which is issuant a demi-lion argent, gorged with a coronal and chained or.* (See this figured in the etching.) The motto *Debboir me oblige*. *The duc of rychemon and somerset*. (I. 2, fol. 3 verso.)

The composition of the arms may be traced as follows:—1. His father's coat of France and England, with the baton to denote his illegitimacy; 2. The bordures of the first three quarters for the title of Richmond, the coat of Alan Fergaunt, first earl of Richmond, having been, Checky or and azure, a canton ermine; 3. The gobony bordure as borne by Beaufort duke of Somerset; 4. The inescutcheon for the earldom of Nottingham, the ancient coat of Peverel lord of Nottingham having been, Vairé or and vert, and that of Mowbray earl of Nottingham, Gules, a lion rampant argent; 5. The chief appears to have been intended to denote the two counties of Nottingham and Derby, from which a pension was assigned for the maintenance of the earldom, the former being represented by the castle of Nottingham, and Derby by the heads of stags or *deer*.

A well-executed and contemporary piece of stained glass of the arms of Henry FitzRoy, duke of Richmond, within a garter, is now or was recently preserved in the rectory-house at Harlington, in Middlesex. From whence it came is not known.

A drawing of his stall-plate at Windsor (now no longer existing) occurs in MS. Vincent 152, f. 159, with the following memorandum:—

“A° M°ccccxxv. the xxvth. day of June the xvij. yere of the reigne of king Henry the viij. the duk of Richemount and Somersett erle of Notyngham, &c. was installed at the feast of Seynt George att Wyndesore. His gown, black satin with botons and aglettes of gold, on his sleves furred with sables.”

This last line alludes to Garter's perquisite of the gown, taken off previously to the new knight's investiture (as mentioned in the table of fees in p. lxxxvi. *antea*.)

* The cognisance of queen Katharine Parre was designed in the same spirit,—a maid's head, already the badge of her family, was placed as issuant from a red and white rose.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

Page xi. *The lady Tailboys.* After the death of lord Tailboys his widow was courted by the lord Leonard Grey, brother to the marquess of Dorset (and afterwards lord deputy in Ireland), as we learn from two of his lordship's letters to secretary Cromwell, which are preserved among that minister's correspondence in the State Paper Office. In the first, "Written at Kayme, my lady Taylbusshe house, the xxiiij daye of Maye, at xij of the clocke at noone," he describes the matter to have originated as an episode in a hunting excursion, thus: "So it is I have been on hunting in Lyncolnshyre, and so came by my lady Taylbusche homewardes, and have had commynyeacion with her in the way of mariage, and so I have had very good chere with her ladyshyp, ensuring you that I coude be better contented to marye wyth her (God and the king pleased) than with any other lady or gentlewoman lyvyng. Wherefore if it wolle please you of your goodnes to move the kinges grace, and also my lord of Norfolke, in this matter, and that ye wolde gette the kinges lettres, and also my lord of Norfolkes lettre unto her in my behalf, for so my frendes hath advised and counsaylled me, and alle my hole truste, next God and the king, is in you." He proceeds to excuse himself for not sending a nag that he had promised Cromwell, and presents him instead five pounds in gold to buy one; and in conclusion sends a blank in paper, hoping that Cromwell or Antony Bridgegood would devise a letter to the duke of Norfolke in his favour.

In his second letter to the secretary, "Written at my pore house of Bewmanour, the second daye of July," lord Leonard thanks him for "the good and kinde letter ye wrote in my favour to my good lady Taylbusche, ascerteignyng you that I had rather obteyne that mater than to be made lord of asmoche goodes and landes as any one noble man hath within this realm," and proceeds at some length soliciting him in the most urgent terms to further his suit. Where the difficulty lay does not very clearly appear; but lady Tailboys had written a letter to Cromwell suggesting that for the good will he bare the lord Leonard he had undertaken to persuade her; so it would seem that the lady doubted the sincerity of lord Leonard's professions, or made that excuse for declining his offer.

Two letters of Elizabeth lady Talboys, printed in Miss Wood's Collection, vol. ii. pp. 38, 643, belong to the wife of sir George, and mother of Gilbert lord Tailboys. She was the daughter of sir William Gascoigne, as stated in a pedigree inserted in Banks's Extinct Peerage, vol. i. facing p. 419.

Page xiii. *The Duke of Richmond's possible nomination as heir to the Crown.* Previously to Burnet, this contingency had been noticed by Fuller in his Church History. When commenting on king Henry's last will, and the remainders assigned, after his possible issue by queen Katharine Parr, to the ladies Mary and Elizabeth, Dr. Fuller remarks: "Well it was for them that Henry Fitzroy his natural son,—but one of supernatural and extraordinary endowments,—was dead; otherwise, some suspect, had he lived to survive king Edward VI. we might presently have heard of a king Henry IX., so great was his father's affection, and so unlimited his power to prefer him." The duke of Richmond actually died some fifteen months before prince Edward's birth; and by the act for the succession, passed by the parliament of 1536, the king placed his daughters Mary and Elizabeth on the same level of illegitimacy as the duke of Richmond, and acquired the power to bequeath the crown at his own pleasure, in default of heirs by any future wife. At that time, therefore, men might well speculate on the duke of Richmond's chance of receiving his father's appointment, even if they had not done so before; but he had then probably fallen into his last illness.

Dr. Fuller repeats his high encomium on the duke of Richmond's talents in his *Worthies of England*, under Essex, obviously following the passage in *Holinshed's Chronicle*, already quoted in p. xxix.

Page xxxii. *Letters of the king of Scots, queen Margaret, &c.* Since this page was printed I have ascertained that the other papers relative to the duke of Richmond's present of hounds to the king of Scotland are now preserved at the Rolls, in the volume marked B. 11. 10. King James's letter to doctor Magnus, dated "at our pallice besydes Halyrud house ye viij day of Januar, 1536," asks for three or four brace of the best ratches in the country, less or more, for hares, foxes, or other greater beasts, with one brace of blood-hounds of the best kind that are good, and will ride behind men on horseback. Queen Margaret, in a letter dated Edinburgh the same day, expresses the king's request in the same words. This has been published by Miss Wood (now Mrs. Green) in her *Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies*, vol. ii. p. 20. A copy of the duke of Richmond's letter to king James follows. It is dated at Pontefract Castle on the 11th February. He sends "ten couple of houndes of the beste that I have proved of my owne." They were sent in the charge of Nicholas Eton, his yeoman hunt, who was to remain and tarry with the king of Scots for a month or fourteen days, to show the manner, form, and fashion of hunting with the said hounds. The duke adds that he was then "destitute of any suche lyam houndes as be good and excellent to use to ride behynde men," but proposed to procure them for the king. Lastly, the copies of Magnus's "two several letters" to the king and his mother, mentioned in p. xxxii. are also preserved.

In her vol. i. p. 368, Miss Wood has printed another letter of queen Margaret to doctor Magnus, dated Edinburgh, 25 Nov. 1525, in which she acknowledges the commendations he had sent her "from our good nephew the duke of Richmond and Somerset, whereof we in our own most tender manner thanks our said cousin. We desire you (adds the queen) affectionately to have us recommended unto him, as we that shall entertain our dutiful kindness, as natural affection aright towards him, as we that is right glad of his ood prosperity, praying the same to continue."

Page xxxvii. *The Breeching Boy*. The idea of intimidating a lordly pupil by the vicarious punishment of his schoolfellows, appears to have been regarded, during a considerable period of time, as a "well-devised policie." Shakspeare alludes to the distinction made between aristocratic and inferior scholars, both in the matter of punishment and in confinement to their tasks, when in his "Taming of the Shrew" he makes Bianca say—

"I am no *breeching scholar* in the schools,
I'll not be tied to hours, nor 'pointed times,
But learn my lessons as I please myself."

In the play of "When you see me you know me, or the famous Chronicle Historie of King Henrie the Eight," written by Samuell Rowly, played by the prince of Wales's servants, and printed in 1613, is a long scene bearing upon this subject. The personages engaged are Cranmer, in the character of prince Edward's principal tutor, doctor Christopher Tye his lecturer in music, Will Somers the court fool, and Browne one of the children of the chapel royal. The scene commences thus—

Enter Cranmer, doctor Tye, and young Browne meets them with the Prince's cloake and hat.

Cranmer. How now, young Browne, what have you there?

Browne. The prince's cloake and hat, my lord.

Cranmer. Where is his grace?

Browne. At tennis, with the marquise Dorset.

Cranmer. You and the marquise draw the prince's mind
To follow pleasure and neglect his booke,
For which the king blames us; but, eredithe me,
You shall be soundly paid immediately.

Browne. I pray ye, good my lord! Ile goe call the prince away.

Cranmer. Nay, now you shall not. Who's within there, ho!

Servant. My lord?

Cranmer. Goe bear this youngster to the chapel strait,
And bid the Maister of the Children whip him well.
The prince will not learn, sir, and you shall smart for it.

Browne. Oh, good my lord! Ile make him ply his book to-morrow.

Cranmer. That shall not serve your turne. Away, I say!
So, sir, this policie was well devised;
Since he was whipt thus for the prince's faults,
His grace has got more knowledge in a moneth,
Than he attained in a yere before;
For still the fearfull boy, to save his breech,
Dothe hourly haunte him wheresoever he goes.

Tye. 'Tis true, my lord, and now the prince perceives it,
As loath to see him punished for his faultes,
Plies it on purpose to redeeme the boy, &c.

Then succeeds some fooling between Browne and Will Somers the court jester ; after which the prince and the young marquess enter with their rackets, and, on seeing Browne, the former says—

Prince. Why how now, Browne, what's the matter ?

Browne. Your grace loiters, and will not ply your book, and your tutors has whipt me for it.

Prince. Alas, poore Ned, I am sorry for it. I'll take the more pains, and intreat my tutors for thee ; yet in truth the lectors they read me last night out of Virgil and Ovid I am perfect in, onlie I confesse I am something behind in my Greek authors.

Will. And for that speech they have declinde it uppon his breech.

Prince. And for my logick, thou shalt wnesse thy selfe I am perfect ; for now will I proove that, though thou wert whipt for me, yet this whipping was good for thee.

After chopping some logic on the virtues of the rod, the prince again condoles with the boy :—

Prince. In truth, I pity thee, and inwardly I feel the stripes thou barest, and for thy sake, Ned, Ile plie my book the faster. In the meane time thou shalt not say but the Prince of Wales will honourably reward thy service. Come, Browne, kneele downe !

Will. What wilt thou knight him, Ned ?

Prince. I will ; my father has knighted many a one that never shedde droppe of blood for him ; but hee has often for me.

The king then comes in, and the scene is still prolonged, during which Will Somers declares that Browne had “ been lasht for this two yeere ” for the sake of the prince's learning. His majesty confirms sir Edward Browne's knighthood, and grants him a thousand marks a year to support his new dignity.

The practice of having a Whipping Boy is said to have been maintained during the education of King Charles the First, whose substitute was one Murray ; and in France so lately as in the childhood of Louis XV., of whom Mad. du Deffand says (i. 345), “ Le roi dans son enfance avoit un petit hussar qu'on fouettaient quand le roi n'avait pas bien dit sa leçon.” See Thoms's Book of the Court, 1838, p. 382.

Page l. *The Pope's niece.* On consulting the various passages referred to in the index to the State Papers, I find that it is clear that the lady termed “ the pope's niece ” was no other than Catharine de' Medici, who was married in Oct. 1533 to Henri duke of Orleans, afterwards king Henri II. The relationship was much more distant than that we usually understand by niece. The pope (Clement VII.) was Giulio de' Medici, a natural son of the cardinal Giuliano de' Medici, great-uncle of Lorenzo duke of Urbino and Florence, the father of Catharine.

Page li. *The daughter of Portugal.* The mother of this princess was not the widow of John III. of Portugal, but her sister Eleanora, the widow of his father Emanuel, who died in 1521. Mary “ the daughter of Portugal ” was born in 1522 ; and, by the treaty of Madrid, Francis I. had engaged that his son the dauphin should marry her when they should arrive at a competent age. She was afterwards proposed successively to Charles

duke of Orleans, and Philip son of the Emperor Charles V. ; but finally died unmarried in 1578. The negotiations for the duke of Richmond's alliance with her are noticed in State Papers, i. 234, 266, 268 ; ii. 266, 268 ; vi. 592, 605, 606 ; and, in addition to the passages already quoted in p. li., the following are important. From Abbeville, the last of July 1527, Wolsey tells the king that he had received letters from the English ambassadors in Spain, among the subjects of which "The fyft is, the blynde and doubtfull overture made by mons^r Buclans [secretary to the emperor] for the aliaunce of the duke of Richemount to the daughter of Portugale, with the gift of the duchy of Myllain, in contemplacion of the same aliaunce ; meanyng therby to interrupte and lette the con-juncion of your highnes with the Frenche king."

Dr. Lee (ambassador in Spain), to the king, from Valladolid, 17 July, 1527 :—"The saied mons^r Buclans told me also that he utterlie thought that your highnes should have, if it so shall please your highnes, the daughter of Portugale for the duke of Richemount ; she shall have 400,000 ducates and more, and commyth of the eldest daughter, which possibilite is good."

Page lix. *Teste apud Dublin.* Although the duke of Richmond never went to Ireland, it appears that certain letters patent are upon record bearing his *Teste apud Dublin*.* In the Introduction to Grants, &c. of King Edward the Fifth, p. xxix, I have made some remarks upon Sharon Turner's error in supposing that that monarch was on certain days at Westminster because some of his patents bear such date. We find in like manner some of the patents of Henry VIII. bearing *teste* at Dublin, Drogheda, and Kilkenny—probably the places at which they passed the great seal. In Ireland, this practice was apparently confined to such matters as were reserved from the authority of the king's representative, and were presumed to be executed by the king himself. From the patronage of a lieutenant of Ireland were excepted the offices of chancellor, treasurer, and chief justice of the king's bench (as appears by the patent appointing the earl of Surrey lieutenant in 1520-1) ; and from the patronage of a deputy were excepted the offices of chancellor, treasurer, chief and

* An inquisition taken at Dublin before William Forster of Kyllleghe, gentleman, the king's escheator of the county of Dublin, anno 24 Hen. VIII. finds that John O'Connow, the vicar of Holywood otherwise Kyllingkyen, was an Irishman and of the Irish nation and blood, and that his benefice was worth 40s. a-year. He is accordingly distrained, and subsequently appearing in court by his attorney he pleads that the king by his letters patent made at Dublin on the 1st day of June, anno 22^o (1530) granted to the said John that he might be of free state and condition, and free and acquitted "ab omni jugo servitutis Hibernicalis," &c. The letters patent are then set forth *in hæc verba*, and are witnessed in this form : "Teste præcharissimo et dilectissimo consanguineo nostro Henrico duce Richmond et Somersett, de prosapia nostra orti, locumtenente nostro terre et domini nostri Hibernie, apud Dublin. primo die mensis Junij anno regni nostri vicesimo secundo." (Rot. Mem. 25 Hen. VIII. m. 13 dorso.) Other examples would probably occur on a further search.

other judges of both benches, barons of the exchequer, and master or keeper of the rolls (as appears by the patent appointing the earl of Kildare deputy in 1524).

For the facts contained in this note and that at p. lix, on the lieutenancy of Ireland, I must acknowledge my great obligations to the researches of James F. Ferguson, esq. of the Exchequer Record Office in Ireland.

It would seem, however, that the duke's presence in Ireland was contemplated as likely to be beneficial, not only by the council there (State Papers, ii. 172), but also by the native chieftains. Conohwyr Obryen the prince of Thomond, in a letter dated the 13th Oct. 1535, assured the king that "if it would please your grace to be soe good and gracious to this poore land and to us your poore subjectes as to send some noble man to govern us, and in especial if it would please your highnesse to send your sonne the duke of Richmond to this poor country, I insure your grace that I and my brother and all my kinsmen, with all my friends, shall doe him as lowly service and as trew as any man living, and I, my kinsmen, and all my friends shall right gladly receive him to our forster sonne after the custom of Ireland, and shall live and dye in his right and service for ever, and binde us to the same, after your pleasure known." (State Papers, ii. 288.) It may here be remarked that this rude Irish chieftain spoke more plainly than the English courtiers, not one of whom do we find describing the duke as the king's son.

Page lxi. *The duke of Richmond's sojourn in France.* An incidental illustration of this period of the duke's life occurs in the following passage of the metrical history of the Throckmortons. It commences the narrative of the career of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, the celebrated statesman of the reign of Elizabeth:—

A brother fourth, and far from hope of land,
By parents' hest I served as a page
To Richmond's duke, and waited still at hand,
For fear of blows that happen'd in his rage.
In France with him I lived most carelessly,
And learned the tongue, though nothing readily.

In a letter of sir John Wallop to the king, dated from Melun on the 24th Dec. 1540, he describes a banquet in which he sat with mons. Dolphin and mons. d'Orleance; when the former, after telling Wallop that he was king Henry's godson, "beganne to speke of my lord of Richemounte, lamenting his dethe grately, and so did mons. d'Orleance likewise. They bothe then asking for my lord of Surrey, geving grate prease unto hym, as wel for his wisdom and sobrenes, as also good learning." (State Papers, viii. 500.) This is a most interesting testimony to the impression which both Richmond and Surrey had made upon the royal family of France during their sojourn at the French court.

Page lxx. *The Cottons.* In a pedigree of the ancestors of the viscount Combermere given by Mr. Ormerod in his History of Cheshire, vol. iii. p. 212, John Cotton, of Cotton, co. Salop, appears as father of William, sir George esquire of the body of Henry VIII., sir Richard, Ralph, Robert, and Thomas. There is other evidence that the governor and comptroller of the duke of Richmond, after the death of their master, were taken into the

household of his royal father. In 1531 George Coton appears as a favourite companion of the king in his exercises of archery, and as winning at three several times the sums of 46s. 8d., 3*l.*, and 7*l.* 2s. all apparently at the butts or "rounds" in Tothill fields near Westminster; and again on the last day of June there was paid—

"To the iij. Cotons for iij. settes the whiche the kinges grace lost to them in Gren-
wich parke xx*l.*

"Item to the same Coton for one up shotte that he wonne of the kinges grace vjs. viij*d.*

It appears from two letters of Richard Cotton to the lord privy seal Cromwell, among the Cromwell Correspondence in the State Paper Office, that in 1536 he was the commander of the latter's company of soldiers, sent to repress the rebellion in Lincolnshire; and from a document at the Rolls (Wolsey Papers, First Series, No. 193) that he was promoted to the service of Edward prince of Wales, as cofferer of his household. He was knighted by king Edward at his coronation. Having held for some time the office of treasurer of Boulogne, he was one of the commissioners for the delivery of that city to the French in 1550. In 1551 he occurs as one of the council for Wales. In Aug. 1552 he was appointed comptroller of the king's household, and in virtue of that office he became a member of the privy council. In Jan. 1552-3 we find him recommended to the sheriff of Hampshire for knight of that shire in Parliament. (Strype, Eccl. Memorials.) The king visited him at his mansion of Warblington near Havant on the 2—4 Aug. 1553. On king Edward's death he sided, like the majority of the council, with queen Jane, but, also with the majority, went over to queen Mary (see the Chronicle of Queen Jane and Queen Mary, p. 109). He was M.P. for Cheshire in 1 & 2 and 2 & 3 Phil. and Mary. He died on the 2d Oct. 1556, and was buried at Warblington (see his funeral described in Machyn's Diary, p. 115). He was succeeded at Warblington by his son sir George Cotton, who was living in 1596; and a younger son was doctor Henry Cotton, consecrated bishop of Salisbury in 1598, of whom Fuller relates in his Worthies, that "queen (whilst yet but lady) Elizabeth, being then but twelve years of age, was his godmother;" another circumstance which marks the father's favour with royalty.

Sir George Cotton, the elder brother, is said to have been knighted by Henry VIII. and to have received the grant of the abbey of Combermere in Cheshire in 1540. On the 2d Oct. 18 Hen. VIII. (1526) there passed to George Coton and Thomas Seymour a grant of the stewardship of the castle of Lyons otherwise Holtes and other castles and lordships in the marches of Wales. (Wolsey MSS. at the Rolls House, No. 998.) This, I believe, was the same office which was enjoyed by Brereton, the presumed paramour of queen Anne Boleyn, who in a poem written by Cavendish says the king had made him

"Stewart of the Holt, a rome of great wyynyng
In the marches of Wales, the which he gave to me."

Letters of the duke of Richmond to secretary Cromwell.

Among Cromwell's Correspondence in the State Paper Office are preserved seven letters addressed to that minister by the duke of Richmond :—

No. 224. A letter addressed "To my righte loving and especialle good frinde M^r Cromwell secretary to the kinges highnes," dated from Wyndesore the 6th Nov. [1534 ?] stating that, having given to his servant Antony Driland, the bearer, the reversion of the offices of the bailywick and keeper of the park of Coliweston, and understanding that it was the king's pleasure that the queen's grace should have that manor, he requests that Driland's claim should be respected. The letter is written by a secretary, but signed in the duke's hand, "Youre assured lovinge frende, H. RYCHEMONDE."

No. 225. A letter from Norwich-place the xxvijth day of Octobre, [1534 ?] thanking Cromwell for "youre goodnes the which ye all only for my sake have showed unto my frynde William Grislyng * the bearer hereof," and praying for its continuance, Grislyng bringing also a testimonial under the seale of the towne of Plimmouth. Written by a secretary, and signed by the duke, "Youre assured lovinge frende, H. RYCHEMONDE."

No. 226. A letter in favour of his "trustye and welbeloved servaunte Thomas Delaryver, gentilman ussher of my chambre," against whom "oone Roger Lassels, with Raffe Every, Robert Bowes, and John Barton, esquiers, wrongfullye and onelye of malice, have surmysed that he shulde hunte and slee a stagge within a certayne close of the abbot of Byland in the countie of York, the saide Roger Lassels being stewarde of the lands of the said abbott," on which occasion Delaryver, "agenst the will and mynde of the said abbott," had been indicted of felony. Dated "At my manner of Canford the first day of June," [1535 ?] and signed in the duke's hand, "Your mooste assured lovinge frynde duringe his lyffe, H. RYCHEMONDE."

No. 227. A letter dated from the same manor on the 11th of June, [1535 ?] stating that the duke was informed that the monastery of Byndon in the diocese of Salisbury, being of the kinges patronage, is now voyd and hooly in his grace's gift and disposition, by reason of the decease of the late incumbent there;† wherefore I considering that the said monastery dothe nere adjoyne to certayne landes of myne within the Isle of Purbeke, and that the convent of the same do fully intende from tyme to tyme to do me suche pleasure as in them shall lye, as well in the sparing and encreasing my dere or game within my p'ley (*parlieu*) there as otherwise,"—he requests they might choose an abbot freely among themselves. Signed by the duke, "Youre assured lovinge frende to hys power, H. RYCHEMONDE."

* William Grislyng was the husband of one of the duke's maternal aunts, as stated in the note at p. x.

† John Waleys occurs abbat of Bindon in 1523; and the last abbat was John Norman. The abbey, after having been suppressed in 27 Hen. VIII. (1536), was re-founded 16 Nov. 1537, but finally surrendered 14 March, 30 Hen. VIII. (1539). *Monasticon Anglic.* edit. 1825, vol. v. p. 655.

No. 228. A letter dated from Canford on the 13th June, [1535 ?] stating that since his coming into that country, "I and sir Giles Strangwaits with other of my counsell have sene and viewed a certayne breche above my towne of Poole called Northavyn poynte,* and do perceyve by the same that by reason of the sea it will be not only in processe of tyme greate prejudice and hinderaunce to the kinges highnes in his customes there, but also ensue and be to the great annoyaunce and decay of my said towne by reason of the same;" on which behalf he requests Cromwell "to geve credence to oone William Byttillcome the berer hereof, being burgeys of the parliament for my saide towne." Signed in the duke's hand, "Youre assured loving frend to his power, H. RYCHEMONDE."

No. 229. A letter dated from Sheffield the iiijth day of July, [1534 ?] "ascertayning" maister secretary that "here in this countrey where I lye † I have no parke nor game to shoue sporte nor pleasure to my frindes when they shall resort unto me," and therefore sending, in a paper inclosed, (which is not preserved,) "aswelle the names of the kinges grounde in thes parties as of other," upon contemplation of which he trusted the king would provide him a remedy. Further, understanding that a parliament was about to be holden in Ireland, in which an act of resumption might be passed, he begged that a proviso might be inserted therein in favour of the bearer of the letter, his servant John Travers, gentilmanwaiter, who had received by the king's letters patents the farm of the fishing in the river of Banne. Signed, "Youre assured lovinge frende, H. RYCHEMONDE."

The following letter (No. 230) is holograph :—

"My owne good lovinge frynde Mayster Secretary, moost hartely I have me recommended unto you, righte hartely thankyng you for the greate kyndenes that ye have showed to me and to my fryndes at al tymes, Desyringe you to have me moost humbly and moost lowly recommendyd unto the kinges highenes, And wher as I have knolege by my frendis in thes parties that his sayde highenes is fully purposed wthin short while to take his viage in to France, whom I pray Jh'u safe conduyte in the same, I wold have byn very glad to have gyven attendaunce uppon hys sayd highenes iff it had byn his grace's pleasure, as my lovinge frynde mayster Knevdy the berer hereoff can acerteyn you, unto whom I righte hartly desyre and also pray you to be good frynde, Assuringe you that in youre so doing ye shall do unto me very singuler plesure, for he hathe byn ever a very lovinge and specielle frynde off myne, As knoweth Jh'u who ever kepe you in helth. At my Manor of Canford the last Day off June [1535 ?] Youre assured lovinge frende,
H. RYCHEMONDE."

Directed, "To my good loving frend Mr. Cromwelle, Secretary to the kynges highnes and oone off his moost honorable Concelle."

The letters No. 224 and 229 retain their seals. They are both impressions of a signet

* North Haven Point is in the parish of Canford, and three miles east of Poole. Together with South Haven Point it forms the entrance of Poole Bay.—Hutchins's Dorsetshire, 1796, vol. i. p. 343. The harbour is described in the same volume at p. 14.

† The duke at this date appears to have been occupying the castle of Sheffield, which belonged to the earl of Shrewsbury.

bearing the duke's cognisance (as described in p. lxxx. and engraved in the frontispiece) within a garter.

Nos. 231, 232, and 233, are letters of Mary duchess of Richmond to Cromwell, written in her widowhood, and relating to her disputed dower. On this subject, to the references given in p. lxiii. should be added Miss Wood's "Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies."

Among the Cromwell correspondence is also preserved the following letter of the duke of Richmond's governor George Cotton to Cromwell, written by the same secretary who penned the duke's letters from Canford :—

"Pleasith it youre Maistershippe to be advertised that in my lordes graces viage towardes Canford, there mett hym before he cam to Salisbury many wurshipfull men of this cuntrey, And receyved his grace verye lovingly in offering them selffes to be at his commandement. And before his entrye into the said towne he was also receyved with very gentill flac'on of the maire and aldermen of the same, the whiche presented hym with there* costely gifts. And in likewise the said wurshipfulle men have sense his said cumyng to Canforde made his said grace dyvers and costelye presentes, whose names and what they were shalbe sertified your M'shippe hereafter. Also righte hartly I thanke youre Maistershippe of youre manyfolde goodnes, the whiche I have alway founde in yowe, by reason whereof I am, and during my lieffe shalbe alway, at youre commandement, as farre as my litle power will extende, as knoweth J'hu, who ever kepe you in helthe. At my lordes manour of Canforde the seconde day of June. [1535?]

(Signed)

Youres to his litle power,

GEORGE COTTON.

Directed, "To my righte especiale and very singuler good Maister,
Maister Cromwell, Secretary to the kinges highnes."

* *i.e.* their.

The duke of Richmond's last illness. Since this memoir was printed, I have met with the following note on this point in the last edition of Miss Strickland's *Lives of the Queens*. "He died at Collewston, the late seat of Margaret Beaufort. King Henry VIII. had given him her property with the title of Richmond. Among the Hardwicke State Papers is one describing his progress to Collewston, evidently in the last stage of consumption. Some of the privy council escorted him; they describe the fluctuations of his health, and the difficulty they had to induce him to travel in a litter." (*Lives of the Queens*, edit. 1853, vol. iii. p. 346.) Presuming that Miss Strickland referred to the publication entitled "*Miscellaneous State Papers*," edited by Lord Hardwicke, in two volumes, quarto, 1778, I at once turned to that work; and since, apprehending some mistake, I have endeavoured to discover the document among the Cromwell correspondence in the State Paper Office; but as that collection is arranged alphabetically, and in fifty-five volumes, after looking under the names of Parr, Magnus, and Cotton (the duke's principal officers), I have relinquished the search, not knowing the writer of the letter, or that particular member of the privy council under whose name it may chance to be arranged. The note made by Miss Strickland contradicts, it will be observed, the statement of the chroniclers that the duke's death occurred at St. James's Palace. It is further remarkable as showing that Henry the Eighth's illegitimate, as well as his legitimate, son died of consumption, when rising towards manhood.

The Editor takes the present opportunity to correct the following errata in the "*Grants, &c. of King Edward the Fifth*." At p. xxx. (and in the Index) the judges Neelle, Choke, and Catesby received their appointments, not to the king's bench, but to the *common bench*, *i.e.* the court of common pleas. Huse, Fairfax, and Jenny were appointed to hear *placita coram rege*, *i.e.* to the court of king's bench. Tremayle, Vavasour, and Townshende (*ibid.* and pp. 57, 58) were all appointed *king's* serjeants, the simple function of a serjeant-at-law being conferred without letters patent.

INVENTORY OF THE GOODS
OF
HENRY FITZROY, DUKE OF RICHMOND.

[MS. Reg. Brit. Mus. 7 F. XIV. No. 16.]

Anno Regni Regis Henrici Octavi xviiij^o.

The INVENTORY of the DUKE of RICHMONDES GOODES,
that ys to saye, aswelle of his Wardrobes of the
Roobes and Beddes, as also of all his Plate of golde,
Juelles, Plate gilt, parcell gilt, and whyte, with the
Inventory of his Chapelle Stuff and Stable, taken
by me, JOHN GOSTWYK, the xxvth day of July, anno
prædicto.

THE WARDEROBE OF THE ROOBES.

Furst, a Gowne of crymsen Damask enbrodered alle over with golde
and furred with luzardes, with vij. grete buttons of golde, and
iiij. pair aglettes.

Item, a Gowne of blak velvet, enbroudered with a border of Venice
golde, the same lyned with blak velwet and satten of Bridges.

Item, a Gowne of purple velwet enbrodered with Venice golde, the
same lyned with yellow satten, and at the same gowne xvij.
grete buttons of golde, oon button lakking.

Item, a Gowne of purple satten tynselle, the same lyned with purple satten.

Item, a Gowne of incarnet damask, trymed with smale frynge upon a brode garde of incarnat velwet.

Item, a Mantell of the Garter of purple velvet, and the garter wrought with Venice golde.

Item, a Kyrte of crymsen velvet, and a hudd of the same.

Item, a Robe of scarlet, and a kirtelle, with a hudde of the same.

Item, a Ryding Cote of grene satten, with a frenge of sylver.

Item, a Cote of grene taffata, welted with grene velvet. (Delivered by George Cotton to my lorde Tailebois.*)

Item, a Cote of whyte clothe garded with whyte velwet, and lyned with sarcenet.

Item, a Cote of blak velvet, with a brode frynge of Venice golde.

Item, a Cote of blak Damask, garded with ij. swelling weltes of blak velvet.

Item, a Cote of incarnat velvet, with a brode frynge of Venice golde.

Item, a Cote of blak velvet, enbrodered with blak silk.

Item, a Cote of yellowe satten, welted with yellowe velvet and lyned with sarcenet.

Item, a Cote of blak taffata, welted with blak velvet.

Item, a Doblet of blak velvet, enbrodered with frynge of Venice golde.

Item, a Doblet of incarnat velvet, enbrodered with a brode frynge of Venice golde.

Item, a Doblett of crymsen satten, trymed with frynge of Venice golde, and lyned with yellowe sarcenet.

* Added in the margin.

Item, a Doblett of yellowe satten, lyned with purple sarcenet and welted with yellowe velvet.

Item, a Doble of blew satten, enbrodered with Venice silver.

Item, a Doble of red taffata.

Item, a pair of Hose of blak velwett, enbrodered with fringe of Venice golde.

Item, a paire of Hose of incarnat velwet, enbrodered with freng of Venice golde.

Item, a paire of Hose of red taffata, lyned with white sarcenet.

Item, a paire of Hose of yellow satten, lyned with blewe sarcenet.

Item, a paire of Hose of whyte clothe, lyned with whyte sarcenet.

Item, a paire of Hose of incarnat velwet, and lyned with yellowe sarcenet.

Item, a paire of Hose of crymsen satten, enbrodered with Venice golde, and lyned with sarcenet.

Item, a paire of Hose of blewe, enbrodered with Venice silver, and lyned with whyte sarcenet.

Item, a paire of Sloppes, of blak velvet.

Item, a paire of Sloppes, of grene satten.

Item, a hole furre of sables.

Item, a hole furre of pampilion and black bogye.

Item, a riche Dagger, the scabert and haft well trymed or garnysshed with silver and gilt.

Item, a Bonnet of blak velwet, with a brooche of golde, and in the same a face, and iiij. rubyes, and xij. long buttons, and xij. paire of agglettes, and xiiij. smale buttons of golde.

Item, a Bonnet of blak velwet, with a brooche and a naked woman, with xvij. pair of agglettes and xvij. buttons, and a small cheyne about thedged of the same.

Item, two Hattes, oon grene, the other white.

Item, two Swyrdes.

Item, a gilt Wodknife, with a scabert and gyrdell of grene velwet,
the buckle and pendentes of the same gilt.

Item, a pece of blak kersey, conteynyng vj. yardes.

Item, a pece of white kersey, conteynyng vij. yardes.

Item, iiij. Coffers and oone Standerd.

Item, ij. Clokes, oon scarlet and the other frizado.

Item, vj. paire of velwet Shoes and a paire of Slippers.

Item, v. paire of Bootes and Buskyns.

Item, iij. paire of Spurres.

Item, ij. Maales.

PLATE OF GOLDE.

Item, a Salt of golde, with a blak dragon and v. perles on the bak,
and upon the fote iij. course saphirs, iij. course balaces, xxij.
course garnisshing perles, and upon the cover of the same salt
vij. saphirs or glasses, and iiij. course balaces, and xxxij. gar-
nysshing perles, upon the knoppe a white rose with rubyes, and
a pyn of silver to bere the salt, going through the dragon, and
the bace made fast to a plate of silver and gilt under the said
bace, weing xxv. o3. di.

Item, a Salt of golde chevern-wise, with small perles and a saphir in
the knoppe thereof, weing ix. ou3.

Item, a Salt of golde rokky, weing v. ou3.

Item, a little Salt of birrall, the cover and fote well garnisshed with
golde, stones, and perles; sente from my lorde Cardinale for a
New yeres gift anno xix^{mo}, with a ruby upon the cover, weing
vj. ou3.

Item, a Salt of golde, supposed to be of an unycorn horn, welle wrought and sett with perle³, and the cover with turkasses, sent from the King by Mr. Magnus, v. ou³. di.

Item, a Spone of golde, with a rose and pomegranat, ij. o³. qrt. di.

Item, a Spone of golde, sent from my lorde Cardinale for a New yer^{es} gift, weing ij. o³. q^ar^l.

Item, a Spone of golde, sent from therl of Northumberlande for a Newyer^{es} gift, weing ij. o³. di.

Item, a Cuppe of golde with a cover, with ij. borders about the body and fote, and upon the knoppe the Kinges armes, xxxiiij. o³. iij. q^ar^l di.

Item, a Cuppe of golde with a cover, geven by my lorde Legate, having in the cover a red flowre, and graven about the cuppe *de bon Cure*, weing xiiij. ou³. q^ar^l.

JUELLS OF GOLDE, late in the custody and charge of George Cotton, and nowe delivered into thands of John Gostwyk:

Furst, a Coller of xxj^{ti} garters, and xxj. knottes of crowne golde, with a George set with dyamondes.

Item, a litill Cheyne with a George of cxxx. lynkes.

Item, a Garter of clene golde, set with ij. diamountes (one pointed and the other plaine).

Item, two Garters of Damask golde, the bokles and pendent^{es} of golde.

Iem, a Whistelle of golde.

Item, two Bracelets of golde, set with roses of rubyes and perle³ (and in either of them a rose of diamountes).

Item, a Ryng, with a pointed dyamount.

Item, a Ryng, with a smale turkas.

Item, a litille Cofer of silver, parcell gilt.

Item, a Garget of golde for my Lordes nekk, sent from the Kinges

highenes for a token, set with vij. white roses, enameled, weing ij. 03. di.

Item, a smale Cheyne of golde, part thereof enameled blak, of Parisse work, weing xxvij^s. vj^d.

PLATE GILT.

Item, a Chalyce with a patent gilt, graven with *Calicem Salutaris*, weing xxj. ou3.

Item, a Chalice with a patent gilt, chaced with sonnes, weing xxx. 03. di.

Item, a Pix for the sacrament, gilt, weing viij. 03. di. di.q^{ar}l.

Item, a faire Pax with white roses, weing xxj. 03.

Item, a Belle with a clapper of silver and gilt, weing xj. ou3. q^{ar}l.

Item, a paire of Crewettes, gilt, graven about with scriptures, weing xiiij. 03. di.

Item, a paire of Crewettes, gilt, graven about with scriptures, weing xvj. 03. di.

Item, a paire of Senssours with lybertes heddes, gilt, weing lxv. ou3. di.

Item, a Shippe for frankensence, with a Spone, parcell gilt, with  and , weing vj. ou3. di.

Item, an holywater Stock and Sprinkelle gilt, graven with roses and portcolices, weing xiiij. 03. di.

Item, a Crosse with Mary and John, gilt and enameled, upon a fote gilt pounsed with roses, weing Cj. ou3.

Item, a Crosse gilt, with Mary and John standing upon a mount, gilt, with ded mens heddes, weing lxxvj. 03. iij. q^{ar}ls.

- Item, an Image of Saint Peter, standing upon a bace, gilt, with a key, a book, and a deademe, weing liij. ou3.
- Item, an Image of St. Dorothe, with a baskett, and a garlonde of flowers, and a reede in her hand, weing lvj. ou3. di.
- Item, an Image of our Lady, with her Sonne in her armes, and a pomegranat in her hand, with a crowne on her hed, standing upon a bace, with a vise under the same, weing xlix. o3. q^ar^l.
- Item, an Image of Saint Andrewe, gilt, standing upon a bace with a crosse in oone hande, and a booke in the other hande, weing xxxvij. ou3. di.
- Item, an Image of Saint Margaret, gilt, standing on a bace upon a dragon, a crowne on her hed, wanting her crosse in her hande, xlvij. ou3.
- Item, an Image of Saint George, parcell gilt, standing upon a dragon on a bace, with hys swyrde, spere, and shilde, and an ostrige fether on his hed, lx. ou3.
- Item, a paire of gilt Candelstikkcs, chaced wrethen, for an autler, weing lxxvij. ou3. iij. q^rts.
- Item, a pair of gilt Candlestikkcs, chaced with lozanges, for an autler, weing lxiiij. o3. iij. q^rts.
- Item, four Chaundclers, gilt, prykkettes, for a table, ciij. ou3.
- Item, a standing Cuppe with a cover, properly pounced, and upon the cover a rose, weing xxiiij. ou3.
- Item, a standing Cuppe, with a cover, and vj. flowres de lice about the knoppe, with a blewe floure, of xxiiij. ou3. di.
- Item, a standing Cuppe, with a cover, with iij. flowres de lices in the knop, and the vth broken away, weing xxvj. ou3. iij. q^r di.
- Item, a Cuppe with a cover gilt, pounced, having v. flowres de lice in the knop, parcell of the Kinges Newyeres gift anno xxj^o. xxij. o3.
- Item, a Cuppe with a cover, gilt, with ij. cares, serpentes, and flowres

- de lice upon the cover, parcell of the Kinges Newyeres gift
a°. xx°. weing xix. ou3. dd.
- Item, a Cuppe, with a cover, gilt, flatt, pounced fether fassion, and
upon the knoppe the Kinges armes, parcell of the Kinges New
yeres gift anno xxij°, xxx. o3. iij. qr̄s.
- Item, a grete flat standing Cuppe, with a cover, gilt, well wrought,
the cover graven with *Gloria laus*, &c. parcell of the Kinges
Newyeres gift a°. xx°, iiij^{xx}. ou3. iij. qr̄s.
- Item, a Cuppe of assaye, graven with a rose in the bottom, weing
viij. o3. iij. qr̄s.
- Item, a Cuppe of assaye gilt, with a ryng in the bottom, weing ix.
ou3. iij. qr̄s.
- Item, a Cuppe of assaye, gilt, with an egle pounced in the bottom,
weing ix. ou3. iij. qr̄s.
- Item, a Cuppe of assay gilt, plaine, weing vj. ou3. qr̄.
- Item, a Crewse for ale, properly pounced, and about the mowth of
the same *Da gloriam Deo*, parcell of the Kinges Newyeres
gift a°. xxj°, weing xij. o3. di.
- Item, a Crewse, with a cover and ij. eares pounced, upon the knoppe
ij. rynges and a rose, parcell of the Kinges Newyeres gift anno
xxij°, x. ou3. qr̄.
- Item, a Crewse with a cover and ij. eares, and upon the knop the
fassion of a flowre de lice, parcell of the Kinges Newyeres gift
a°. xxiiij°, weing xxiiij. ou3. iij. qr̄s.
- Item, iij. Bolles with a cover, gilt, chaced, with martletts, ciiij^{xx} xij.
ou3.
- Item, iij. Bolles with a cover, gilt, chaced rokky, weing ciiij^{xx} o3.
iij. qr̄s.
- Item, a Bolle with a cover, gilt, pounced with grete dropys, parcell
of the Kinges Newyeres gift a°. xviiij°, xlviiij. o3. di.

Item, ij. flatt Flagons, gilt, with scutchions, weing CCxxviiij. 03.

Item, Flagon, gilt, for rosewater, weing (*blank.*)

Item, ij. Saltes with a cover, gilt, weing xxv. ou3. iij. qr̄s.

Item, vj. Spones, gilt, of divers sortes, weing ix. 03. di., whereof remaynethe oone with the Duchess of Richemonde.

Item, two gilt Pottes, chaced wrethen fether fassion with crownes on the covers, weing together CCCxxxij. 03.

Item, a paire of Pottes, gilt, chaced, the oon half wrethen, and the other pounced, weing Clxxv. 03. di.

Item, a paire of Pottes, playne gilt, weing Cxviiij. 03. di.

Item, a paire of gilt Pottes playne, weing Cxx. 03. qr̄.

Item, ij. littill Pottes, gilt, graven with braunches, sent for the Kinges Newyeres gift a°. xviiij°. weing lxviiij. 03. iij. qr̄s.

Item, ij. litille Pottes, fynely gilt, pounced, parcell of the Kinges Newyeres gift a°. xx°. weing liiij. 03. iij. qr̄s.

Item, ij. litille plaine Pottes, quarteletts, parcell of the Kinges Newyeres gift a°. xxj°. weing lxv. 03.

Item, ij. plaine Pottes, parcell of the kinges New yeres gift a°. xxij°. weing lxij. 03.

Item, a Bason, gilt, with a sterre in the bottom, weing lxvij. 03. di.

Item, a paire of Basons, gilt, chaced with roses, weing iiij^{xx}.vij. 03.

Item, a paire of Basons, gilt, with a rose in the bottom, lxv. 03. qr̄.

Item, a paire of Basons, gilt, covered, with a rose, Cxliiij. 03. di.

Item, a Bason, gilt, with a sterr in the bottom, and my Lordes armes, sent from the Kinges highnes for a Newyeres gift a°. xxvij°. lxv. ou3.

Item, an Ewar, gilt, weing xxxiiij. 03. di.

Item, an Ewar, gilt, sent from the Kinges hyghenes for a Newyeres gift a°. xvij°. with a sterre upon the cover, and my Lordes armes, weing xxxvj. o3^a. qrt̃.

Item, a Leyer, gilt, chaced, rokky, weing xxj. o3. di. the same geven to the Countes of Westmerlande at the christenyng of her sonne, and for the same was delivered C^s. unto thands of William Amyas, which some of fyve pounds remayneth still in his handes to have bought another layer.

PLATE PARCELL GILT.

Item, a Chalice with a patent, parcell gilt, weing xvj.o3.di. di.qrt̃.

Item, a Chalice, with a patent, parcell gilt, weing vij. o3. iij. qrt̃s. di.

Item, a holly water Stock and Sprinkelle, xxxiiij. o3. iij. qrt̃s.

Item, a Bason, parcell gilt, with a sterre, weing xlviiij. o3. qrt̃. (delivered to my Ladyes grace.*)

Item, ij. Basons, parcell gilt, weing C. ou3. qrt̃.

Item, ij. Basons, parcell gilt, weing Cvj. ou3. qrt̃.

Item, an Ewar, parcell gilt, plaine, weing xxvj.o3. iij.qrt̃. (delivered to my Ladyes grace.*)

Item, ij. Ewars, parcell gilt, with sonnes on the cover, xlvij. o3. di.

Item, ij. Ewers, parcell gilt, with bosses on the covers, xlviiij. o3. qrt̃.

Item, iij. Chaundelers, parcell gilt, with prikkettes, lxxviiij. o3.

Item, a Chaundeler, for a boarde, parcell gilt, xxvj. ou3.

Item, ij. Saltes, viij-square, parcell gilt, with a cover, lvj. o3. qrt̃.

* Added in the margin.

Item, ij. Saltes, vj-square, parcell gilt, Parys plate, xxix.03.iiij.qr̄s.

Item, a lowe Parys Salt, parcell gilt, weing xij. 03. iiij. qr̄s. (delivered to my Ladyes grace.*)

Item, a paire of Kervyng Knives, weing xvij. 03. di.

Item, ij. Pottes, parcell gilt, martelets, weing iiij^{xx}xij. ou3. di.

Item, ij. Pottes, parcell gilt, martelettes, weing iiij^{xx}xij. ou3. di.

Item, ij. Pottes, gallonners, parcell. gilt, weing cxxxv. ou3. di.

Item, ij. Pottes, gallonners, parcell gilt, weing cxliij. ou3. di.

Item, a ale Pott, parcell gilt, weing liij. ou3. qr̄ter.

Item, ij. Pottes pottelers, parcell gilt, weing iiij^{xx}xix. 03. di. (delivered to my Ladyes grace.*)

Item, v. Bolles without a cover, with high fete, parcell gilt, and grete droppes in the bottom, clvij. 03.

Item, vj. Bolles, parcell gilt, without a cover, plaine, with lowe feet, weing ccxxxvij. 03. (whereof oon delivered to my Ladyes grace.*)

Item, ij. Flagons, parcell gilt, with chaynes and stoppelles, clvij. 03.

PLATE, WHYTE.

Item, vij. large Platters of silver, weing (*blank.*)

Item, thre dosen and oone Disshe, silver, weing (*blank.*)

Item, xij. Sawcers of silver, weing lxxxiiij. 03. qr̄.

Item, dosen Trenchers of silver, weing CCxlj. 03.

Item, a Chaffyng Dysshe of silver, weing lxj. 03. di.

Item, xij. Spones of silver, with di. knoppes, xxij. 03. whereof ij. to the Duches of Richemondes handes.

* Added in the margin.

NEW YERES GIFTES geven by the Kinges highenes and the Quene unto the said Duke of Richmonde, and not indented for, as hereafter foloweth :—

THE KINGES NEWYERES GIFT A°. xxv^{to}.

- Furst, ij. gilt Pottes, quartelettes, plaine, without any armes in the covers, graven about the swage of the foote with antique work, weing lxv. ou3.
- Item, a standing Cup, not wayed, with a cover, which was sent incontynently to the Duches of Norfolke for her Newyeres gift by George Hartwell.

THE QUENES NEWYERES GIFT A°. xxv^{to}.

- Item, a littille Salt, which was geven to Maistres Jennye the same yere, when the Duke christened her sonne.
- Item, a Ryng, remaynyng with my Lordes grace, and never delivered into his treasure.

THE KINGES NEWYERES GIFT A°. xxvj^{to}.

- Item, a standing Cup, graven, with a cover, gilt, with antique wourke, and in the topp of the cover a rose, xxij. o3.
- Item, a Crewse with a cover gilt, jugg fassion, graven with antique, having ij. eares, and the iiijth. lost, xxxiiij. o3. di. gr^d.

THE QUENES NEWYERES GIFT A°. xxvj^{to}.

- Item, a Crewse with a cover gilt, whiche was sent unto my Ladyes grace for a Newyeres gift.
- Item, a Bonett furnished with buttons, and a litill brooche. Re-

mayning in my Lordes grace handes, and never delivered to his treasure.

THE KINGES NEWYERES GIFT A°. xxvij°.

- Item, a standing Bolle with a cover gilt, having upon the toppe of the same a litill boy with a spere and shilde, with a scripture graven in Frenche.
- Item, a grete Jugg with a cover gilt, with letters H and A crowned, and ij. eares of serpentes.
- Item, a Crewse with a cover gilt, graven with ij. ringes in the top of the cover, and ij. eares graven.
- Item, a littill Salt, with a cover, not wayed; the same geven away by my Lorde to Maistres Amy to her marriage.

CHAPELLE STUFF.

- Furst, ij. Aulter-clothes of blew bawdkyn.
- Item, ij. Aulter-clothes of grene velvet and white bawdkyn, paned.
- Item, iiij. Aulter-clothes of yellow and blew satten, whereof ij. at Tonges.
- Item, a Corporax of crimsen velvet.
- Item, iiij. Corporaces of Damask, and the iiijth at Tonges.
- Item, ij. Superaltries, whereof oone at Tonges.
- Item, a Vestymēt of cloth of golde of Damask and crymsen velvet pirled, with all thinges thereunto apperteynyng.
- Item, ij. Chesipples for the deacon and subdeacon, of the same stuff, with all thinges to them belonging.
- Item, a Vestymēt of purple velvet, with angelles and floures, with all thinges to the same belonging.
- Item, ij. Chesipples for the deacon and subdeacon, belonging to the same vestiment.
- Item, a Vestiment of plaine purple velvet, with all thinges appertaynyng to the same.

- Item, iij. severall Vestimentes complete, of blewe damask, for the feriale days, wherof j. at Tonges.
- Item, ij. Copes of clothe of golde, of damask paned with crymsen velvet pired.
- Item, ij. Copes of purple velvet, with angelles and flowres enbroudered.
- Item, a Canopie of grene satten of Bridges, for the deane of the chapelle.
- Item, Travers of chaungeable sarcenet.
- Item, a grete Masse book wrytten, covered with olde clothe of bawdkyn, with ij. claspes of silver and gilt (whiche ij. claspes remayneth with Mr. Stringer.*)
- Item, iij. other Masse bookes, whereof j. at Tonges.
- Item, iij. Ympners, and oon Antifoner.
- Item, oone Processioner.
- Item, a Boke prykked with keryes.
- Item, a grete Booke of masse, prykked.
- Item, xij. Surpleses of course lynnene clothe, some for men and some for children.
- Item, vj. Auler-clothes of lynnene, whereof ij. at Tonges.
- Item, ij. Standardes, whereof oon grete.

HANGINGES FOR THE CHAPELLE.

- Item, the first pece of the Passion, of iiij. yardes in length, and iij. yardes in depenes.
- Item, the ij^{de}. pece of the same, of oone yarde and iij. quarters in lengthe, and iij. yards depe.
- Item, the iiij^{de}. pece of the same, of iij. yardes long, and iij. depe (and iij. quarters.†)
- Item, the iiijth pece, of ij. yardes qr^l in length, and ij. yardes in depenes.

* Added *secunda manu*.† *Secunda manu*.

Item, the vth pece, of iij. yardes long, and iij. yardes and iij. quarters depe.

Item, the vjth pece, of vij. yardes of lengthe, and iij. yardes depe.

Item, the vijth pece of the said Passion, of ij. yardes long, and iij. yardes depe.

THE WARDEROBE OF THE BEDDES.

HANGINGES.

Furst, a pece of Moses, conteynyng in lengthe vj. yardes, and depenes four yardes di.

Item, the ij^{de} pece of Moses, in lengthe vj. yardes iij. quarters, and in depenes four yardes iij. quarters.

Item, the iij^{de} pece of Moses and Balam, of viijth yardes iij. quarters, and four yardes quarter depe.

Item, the iiijth pece of Moses and Balam, of viij. yards qr^l, and four yardes qr^l depe.

Item, the vth pece of Moses and Balam, of ix. yards and four yards di. depe.

Item, the vjth pece of Moses and Balam, of viij. yardes di. and iiij. yardes qr^l depe.

Item, the vijth pece of Moses and Balam, of viij. yardes qr^l, and iiij. yardes di. depe.

Item, a pece of the Lady Plesaunce, accompanied with many Vertues, and assauted with divers Vices, containing in length x. yardes and one qr^l, and iiij. yardes di. depe.

Item, a pece of King Lewes, of xj. yardes di. in lengthe, and iiij. yardes qr^l depe.

Item, another pece of King Lewes, of vj. yardes iij. quarters in lengthe, and iij. yardes di. depe.

Item, a faire pece of rich Arras of the Image of Man and of Jessey, of xv. yardes in lengthe, and v. yardes depe.

- Item, a faire pece of Arras of the Coronation of Honnour, with divers grete images therin, aswelle of the olde Testament as also of the newe, of xiiij. yarges in lengthe, and fyve yarges depe.
- Item, a pece of Tullyus Hostalius, of ix. yarges in lengthe, and iiij. yarges iij. quarters depe.
- Item, a pece of Tullius Hostalius, of ix. yarges in lengthe, and iiij. yarges iij. quarters depe.
- Item, a pece of Tullius Hostalius, of ix. yarges in lengthe, and iiij. yarges depe.
- Item, a pece of Tullius Hostalius, of the same lengthe and depenes. (a good hanginges.*)
- Item, the firste pece of Parys and Elen, of viij. yarges di. in lengthe, and iiij. yarges depe.
- Item, the ij^{de} pece of Parys and Elen, of the same lengthe and of like depenes.
- Item, the iij^{de} pece of Parys and Elen, of viij. yarges iij. quarters in lengthe, and iiij. yarges di. depe.
- Item, the iiijth pece of Parys and Elen, of xj. yarges in lengthe, and iiij. yarges iij. quarters depe.
- Item, the vth pece of Parys and Elen, of x. yarges in lengthe, and iiij. yarges di. in depenesse.
- Item, the vjth pece of Parys and Elen, of viij. yarges di. in lengthe, and iiij. yarges iij. quarters depe.
- Item, the vijth pece of Parys and Elen, of viij. yarges di. in length, and iiij. yarges iij. quarters depe.
- Item, the viijth pece of Parys and Elen, of x. yarges qrt^l, and iiij. yarges di. depe.

* This memorandum is inserted *secunda manu*, and it is not clear whether it was meant to apply to the suit of hangings that precedes, or that which follows it.

- Item, the first pece of Tapestrye, of iij. yardes qr^l, and iij. yardes iij. quarters depe.
- Item, the ij^{de} pece, of the same lengthe and depenes.
- Item, the iij^{de} pece of Tapestrye, of iiij. yardes di. di. qr^l, and in depenes iij. yardes iij. quarters.
- Item, the iiijth pece of Tapestry, of iiij. yardes qr^l di. and iij. yardes iij. quarters depe.
- Item, the vth pece of Tapestry, of iij. yardes di. di. qr^ls. in lengthe, and iij. yardes iij. quarters depe.
- Item, the first pece of Hawking and Hunting, of vij. yardes long, and iij. yardes qr^l depe.
- Item, the ij^{de} pece, of the same lengthe and brede.
- Item, the iij^{de} pece, of the same lengthe and brede.
- Item, the iiijth pece, of the same lengthe and depenes : the storys ys of a goddesse sitting in a throne.
- Item, the vth pece, of Hawking and Hunting, of vij. yardes in lengthe, and iij. yardes iij. quarters depe.
- Item, the vjth pece, of a Lady sitting under a clothe of astate in her trone, of vij. yardes long, and iij. yardes di. depe.
- Item, the first pece of Verdours, of iiij. yardes in length and iij. yardes depe.
- Item, the ij^{de} pece of Verdours, of the same lengthe and brede.
- Item, the iij^{de} pece, of iij. yardes in lengthe, and iiij. yardes depe.
- Item, the iiijth pece, iij. yardes iij. quarters long, iiij. yardes depe.
- Item, the vth pece, iij. yardes in lengthe, and iiij. yardes depe.
- Item, the vjth pece, iij. yardes in lengthe, and iiij. yardes depe.
- Item, the vijth pece, ij. yardes long, and iiij. yardes depe.
- Item, the viijth pece, iij. yardes long, and iiij. yardes depe.
- Item, the ixth pece, iij. yardes long, and iiij. yardes depe.
- Item, the xth pece, iij. yardes long, and iiij. yardes depe.

- Item, a Testour, panyd with clothe of golde, grene tynsell, and crymsen velwet, conteynyng in alle six panes of half the brede, with a frence of half a quarter depe of golde and silke, yellow, red, and grene.
- Item, a Counterpoint to the same, of the said cloth, tynsell, and velwet, conteynyng x. panes.
- Item, fyve Courteynes, of red and yellow sarcenet, of the same bedde, conteynyng xx^{ti} panes.
- Item, a Bedstede of waynscote to the same bed belonging, well kerved, with vices and garthes to the same.
- Item, a Testour of yellow and blue damask, with oone pane crymsen velwet in the middes, containing v. panes, frynged with yellow, red, and blewe silke, halfe a quarter depe.
- Item, v. Courteynes of the said collors of sarcenet, conteynyng xxx^{ti} panes of ij. yardes quarter depe.
- Item, a Testour of yellow and blewe damask, of the devise, making, and frence as ys aforesaid in every point. (The same cutt at the hedd behynd the bolster, when Sir William Courtney ley at my Lordes place at Canford.)
- Item, v. Courteynes of the aforesaid sarcenet, in collours, panes, and lengthe is above wrytten.
- Item, oone Bedstede of waynescote, kerved, with vices and garthes as is above said.
- Item, a Testour, of cloth of golde of bawdkyn, well worne, containing six narrow panes frenged with grene and red silk.
- Item, a Counterpoint of the same stuff, conteynyng v. panes of the hole brede of bawdkyn, every pane in length iij. yardes di.
- Item, Courteynes of sarcenet for the same bed, red and yellow, conteynyng xij. panes, every pane being one yarde iij. quarters di. depe.

Item, a Sparver, of course purple tynselle, with a frence of yellowe and blewe course Parys silk, di. quarter depe, with iij. curteynes of chaungeable silk sarcenet, every curteyne conteynyng in lengthe iij. yarges.

Item, Counterpoints of all sortes, some bygger than some.

Item, thre grete Carpettes, and xij. smale carpettes.

Item, oone Clothe of Astate, of clothe of golde of Damask making, freged with golde and red silk, quarter depe.

Item, a Chaire of clothe of golde, frynged with redde silk and golde, with iiij. pomelles of silver and gilt.

Item, a Chaire of crymsen velwet, enbrodered with the Duke's armes.

Item, a Chaire of crimsen velwet, freged with silk.

Item, a Chaire of blak velwet, fringed with grene silk.

Item, a Cusshon of clothe of golde of Damask, quylted.

Item, a Cussion of the same sorte of golde.

Item, a littill Cusshon of the same fassion.

Item, ij. Cusshons of clothe of golde, buttoned and tasselled with golde, iiij. tasselles wanting.

Item, ij. newe Cusshons, the oon side clothe of golde, and the other side russett velwet, with tasselles.

Item, iiij. Cusshons of crymsen velwet without knoppes, wherof iij. square, and the other long.

Item, oon Cusshon of purple velwet on the oone side, and the other side crymsen velwet, knopped and tasselled.

Item, a littill Cusshon of russet velwet.

Item, iij. Coffers.

- Item, xij. grete Beddes, with bolsters.
 Item, oone grete Bedde of downe with a bolster.
 Item, vij. Pillowes.
 Item, vij. paire of Fustians.
 Item, xij. paire of Sheetes.
 Item, viij. Pillow biers.

KECHEN STUFFE.

- Item, brasse Potts, bounden with iron, iij.
 Item, other brasse Pottes, vj.
 Item, Pannes bounded with yron, iiij.
 Item, yron Rakkes, ij.
 Item, standert Broches, iij.
 Item, rounde Broches, iij.
 Item, square Broches, xij.
 Item, a Grydyron, j.
 Item, a Brasyn Morter, j.

SQUILLERY STUFFE.

- Item, Chargeours, iij.
 Item, Platters, x. Dussen.
 Item, Disshes, xvij. Dussen.
 Item, Salcers, x. Dussen.
 Item, Plates, iiij.
 Item, a Standert.

THE STABLE.

- Furst, iiij. grete Horses, whereof oon a jennet, the ij^{de} a blak, the ij^{de} a bay, and the iiijth sorelled. (And the same jennet delyvered to the erlle of Surrey, with saddell and harnes of blak velwet.*)

* Added *secunda manu*.

Item, a Saddle of grene velwet, with a harnes of the same, frenched with grene silk.

Item, a Saddle of buff lether, with a harnes of blak velwet, trymmed with gilt wourke.

Item, a Saddle of white lether, with a harnes of blak velwet, with grete gilt bukkles.

Item, to all these Horses afore wrytten, brydells, clothes, collers, with alle other thinges to them belonging.

Item, a littill Mule, with a harnes of blak velwet, with studdes of gilt wourke, and a fote clothe of velwet.

Item, vj. Geldinges, with brydells, saddelles, and alle other thinges belonging to them (suche stuffe as it ys. Whereof iiij. delyvered unto the Duches of Richemonde, to convey her into Norfolk.*)

Item, iiij. Mules for carriage, with all thinges to them apperteynyng.

Item, iiij. Naggess. (whereof oon boughte of my lorde William, and oon geven to Mr. Cotton, whiche naggess I have not seen.†)

* Added *secunda manu*.

† Added *secunda manu*.

VIEW OF THE WARDROBE STUFF

OF

KATHARINE OF ARRAGON.

[MS. Reg. Brit. Mus. 7. F. XIV. Art. 23.]

A VIEWE takyne by Syr EDWARDE BAYNTON, Knyghte, the xiiijth daye of Februarye, in the xxvjth yere of the Reigne of oure Soveraigne lorde King Henrye the viijth, by the commaundemente of his highenes and to his graces use, of alle and singuler WARDE-ROBE STUFFE remaynyng the saide daye and yere within BAYNARDES CASTILLE, whiche late was THE PRINCESSE DOWGIERS, as particularye folowithe :

HANGINGES OF VELVETTE FIGURYE.

Fyrste, of the saide hanginges, seevyne pecis paned red and grene, everye of them lyned with bokerhame and enbrowdered withe the armes of Englande and Spayne, crowned with a crowne Imperialle, having boordres likewise enbrowdered with rooses, flouredelucis, and pomegarnettis.

HANGINGES OF TAPISTRYE.

- Of the Storye of Jasone. Fyrste, of the storye of Jasone syxe pecis, every of them lyned with canvas and lired, wherof the fyrste pece and the seconde cont' in lengthe either of them ix. yardis, the iij^{de} ix. yardis di. the iiijth vij. yardis, the vth vij. yardis di., the vjth iiij. yardis di., and everye of theme cont' in depthe iiij. yardis di.
- Of the Storye of Hercules. Item, of the storye of Hercules pecis foure, every of them lyned withe canvas and lired, wherof the fyrste pece cont' in lengthe x. yardis quar^r, the ij^{de} pece vij. yardis di., the iij^{de} pece ix. yardis di. the iiijth pece v. yardis q^r, and every of them cont' in depthe iiij. yardis di.
- A Windowe pece of Hercules. Item, one windowe pece of the said storye of Hercules, lyned with canvas and lired, cont' in lengthe ij. yardis, and in depthe iiij. quarters di.
- Of the Newe Lawe and Olde. Item, of the Newe Lawe and Olde pecis thre, lyned withe canvas and lired, everye of them cont' in lengthe viij. yardis iiij. quarters, and in depthe iiij. yardis di.
- Tapettis soorting v. Item, fyve pecis of hanginges of tapistrye soorting, wherof iiij. pecis be lyned withe canvas and the vth unlyned, whiche is brokene at one corner, three of theme cont' in lengthe the pece vij. yardes di., the iiij. pece viij. yardis, and the vth pece vij. yardis quarter, everye of them cont' in depthe iiij. yardis di.
- Tapettis soorting ij. Item, three pecis of hanginges of tapistrye soorting, everye of them lyned withe canvas and lired, wherof the fyrste pece cont' in lengthe vij. yardis quarter, the ij^{de} and the iij^{de} cont' in length the pece vij. yardis, and everye of theme cont' in depth iiij. yardis quarter.
- Tapettis soorting ij. Item, three pecis of hanginges of tapistrye, lyned withe canvas and lired, every of theme cont' in lengthe one yarde iiij. quarters, and in depthe ij. yardis di.
- Tapettis soorting ij. Item, two tapettis of tapistrye lyned with canvas and lired, either of

of theme cont' in lengthe one yarde, and in depthe ij. yardis
ijj. quarters.

Item, two tapettis of tapistrye soortinge, lyned with canvas and lired, Tapettis soort-
ing ij. either of theme cont' in lengthe one yarde ij. quarters, and in
depthe ij. yardis di.

Item, one tapette of tapistrye crosse lyned with canvas cont' in One smalle ta-
pette. bredithe ij. yardis quarter, and in depthe ij. yardis quarter di.

Item, two windowe pecis of tapistrye, either of theme lyned withe Windowe pecis
of tapistrye ij. canvas and lired, the one pece cont' in lengthe ij. yardis,
and in depthe one yarde quarter di. The other cont' in
lengthe ij. yardis, and in depthe one yarde di.

Item, three boordres of tapistrye lired and unlyned, cont' togeders in Boordres of ta-
pistrye. lengthe xj. yardis, and everye of theme in bredithe di. yarde.

HANGINGES OF VEERDOURS (SORE WOURNE).

Fyrste, three pecis of grene veerdours, withe smalle floures, everye Veerdours
grene. of theme lyned withe canvas, cont' in bredithe the pece iiij.
yardes quarter di. and in depthe v. yardis.

Item, one peece of veerdours paned white and red, lyned withe can- Veerdours red
and white. vas, havinge a large tree in the myddes crowned, cont' in
lengthe ij. yardis di. and in depthe iiij. yardis quarter, brokene
and unserveable.

Item, one pece of white and grene veerdours, paned and quarter Veerdours whito
and grene. lyned withe canvas, cont' in lengthe iiij. yardis di., and in
bredithe iiij. yardis quarter, brokene and unserveable.

Item, one pece of white and grene veerdours paned, wroughte as
welle withe fawcons and feterlockes, as also withe rooses
and sonnes, quarter lyned with canvas, cont' in lengthe vij.
yardis, and in depthe iiij. yardes di.

Item, one pece of veerdours, quarter lyned withe canvas, having one Veerdours
wroughte with
the kinges
armes. large tree in the myddes crowned, and the kinges armes in the
boordre likewise crowned, cont' in lengthe vij. yardis, and in
depthe iiij. yardis di. brente at the one corner.

BEDDIS, THAT IS TO WITE AS WELLE CEELOURS AND TESTOURS, AS ALSO
SQUARE BEDDIS AND SPARVARS, WITHE THEIR COUNTERPOYNTE.

A square bedde
of blewe vel-
vette en-
browdered.

Fyrste, a square bedde of blewe velvette, enbrowdered as welle with
Rooses as also withe lettres crowned, lyned with blewe bokerhame,
and fringed with red silke and golde, havinge a counterpoynte
of the saide stuffe likewise enbrowdered and lyned, and the cur-
teynes be lacking.

Sparvars.

Item, a sparvar of Damaske golde Turkey making paned crymsene
and blewe, lyned withe blewe bokerhame, havinge single va-
launce fringed withe purple silke and Venysse golde, withe a
counterpoynte of the saide stuffe, and mantille and curteynes of
purple sarcenette.

Item, a sparvar paned of yalowe clothe of golde, clothe of silver withe
workys, and russette velvette lyned withe blewe bokerhame,
havinge single valaunce, fringid as welle withe silke of white,
yalowe, and russette colours, as also withe Venysse golde, withe
mantille and curteynes of russette sarcenette.

Ceelours and
Testours.

Item, a ceelour, testour, and counterpoynte, of white damaske, withe
loosingies of yalowe clothe of golde, lyned with red bokerham,
havinge single valaunce fringide withe white and red silke,
withe two curteynes of white sarcenette, either of theme cont'
iiij. bredis of the saide sarcenette, and in depthe iiij. yardes qr?

Item, a ceelour, testour, and counterpoynte for a cradille paned of
yalowe clothe of golde, and crymsene velvette lyned withe grene
bokerhame, havinge single valaunce fringid with blewe and
red silke myxid withe Venysse golde, withe iiij. curteynes paned
of red and blewe sarcenette, everye of theme cont' in depthe one
yarde iij. quarters, and in bredithe one yarde quarter.

A large canapie
of clothe of
golde and vel-
vette paned.

A large canapie paned as welle of yalowe clothe of golde, as also of
grene and blewe velvette enbrowdered withe rooses, every of
theme crowned withe a crowne imperialle, lyned withe purple
sarcenette, and fringid withe grene silke and Venysse golde.

- Item, a riche clothe of astate of crymsene clothe of tissue enbrowered with the tharmes of Englande and Spayne, as wel in the ceelour and testour, as also in the valaunce, lyned with the grene bokerhame, havinge doble valaunce fringid with the crymsene silke and Venysse golde, the ceelour cont' in lengthe iij. yardis, and in bredithe iiij. yardis quarter, the valaunce in depthe di. yarde, and the testour cont' in depthe iiij. yarde di. di. quarter, and in bredithe iiij. yardis di.
- Item one pece of the saide clothe of tissue with a large scochione of tharmes of Spayne in the myddis, lyned with the grene bokerham, cont' in depthe iiij. yardis quarter, and in bredithe iiij. yardis di. di. quarter, whiche belongid to the saide clothe of astate whate tyme it was a bedde.
- Item, two pecis of the saide clothe of tissue unlyned, the one cont' in lengthe ij. yardis di. quarter, and in bredithe one yarde quarter, and the other pece cont' in lengthe ij. yardis quarter and in bredithe di. yarde di. quarter, whiche was parcell of the saide clothe of astate whate tyme it was a bedde.
- Item, three curteynes of red clothe of golde with the workys, everye of theme lyned with the Damaske white and grene, cont' in the hoole xij. bredis of the saide clothe of golde, and in depthe the pece ij. yardis skante.
- Item, two curteynes of taffata paned white and red, cont' bothe vij. bredis of the saide taffata, and either of theme in depthe iiij. yardis quarter, perissid with rattis.
- Item, two curteynes of Damaske paned white and purple, cont' bothe vj. bredis of the saide Damaske, and either of theme cont' in depthe iiij. yardis quarter.
- Item, two curteynes of silke chamlette, paned red, grene, russette, yalowe, and tawneye, cont' bothe viij. bredis of the saide stuffe unlyned.
- A clothe of astate of riche clothe of tissue.
- Frustrate pecis of clothe of tyssue.
- Curteynes of clothe of gold.
- Curteynes of taffata.
- Curteynes of damaske.
- Curteynes of silke chamlette.

CUPBOURDE CLOTHES.

- Of crymsen
velvette upon
velvette. Fyrste, a cupbourde clothe of crymsene velvette upon velvette
boordrid withe clothe of tissue, havinge iiij. buttons and
tassellis of red silke and Venysse golde, and lyned withe
bokerhame, cont' in lengthe iij. yardis di., and of iij. bredis of
the saide velvette.
- Of velvette of
dyverse
colours. Item, a cupbourde clothe of velvette of sondrye colours, wroughte
carpettewise, cont' in lengthe ij. yardis quarter and in bredithe
one yarde di.
- Of velvette
figurye. Item, a cupbourde clothe of grene velvette figurye, lyned withe
bokerhame, havinge iiij. buttons and tassellis of grene silke and
Venysse golde, cont' in lengthe iij. yardis quarter, and of iij.
bredis of the saide velvette figurye.
- Item, a cupbourde clothe of red velvette figurye boordrid withe
clothe of tissue, having iiij. buttons and tassellis of red silke
and Venysse golde, and lyned withe bokerham, cont' in length
iij. yardis quarter, and of iij. bredis of the saide velvette
figurye.
- Of crymsen
velvette, olde. Item, an olde cupbourde clothe of crymsene velvette lyned withe
bokerhame, cont' in lengthe ij. yardis iij. quarters di. and of
iij. bredis of the saide velvette.
- Table carpettis. Item, one table carpette newe, wroughte with rooses white and red,
cont' in lengthe vj. yardis, and in bredithe ij. yardis di. quarter.
- Item, one table carpette withe a blewe boordre at either ende, cont'
in length iiij. yardis iij. quarters, and in bredithe ij. yardis di.
quarter.
- Item, one table carpette withe a red boordre at either ende, cont' in
lengthe iiij. yardes quarter, and in bredithe ij. yardis.
- Item, one table carpette withe a yalowe boordre at either ende,
cont' in lengthe iij. yardis di. skante, and in bredithe ij. yardis.
- Foote carpettis. Item, a foote carpette withe an uttre boordre of white and grene

colours, cont' in lengthe viij. yardes, and in bredithe iij. yardis quarter skante.

Item, a foote carpette withe an uttre boordre of white, red, and blewe colours, cont' in lengthe vij. yardis quarter, and in bredithe ij. yardis iij. quarters.

Item, an olde foote carpette, sore brokene, withe a red boordre at either ende, cont' in lengthe vj. yardis, and in bredithe ij. yardis di.

Item, a cupbourde carpette, mooste of red and yalowe colours, cont' ^{A cupbourde carpette.} in lengthe iij. yardis, and in bredithe one yarde di.

Item, two blacke windowe carpettis, the one cont' in lengthe ij. ^{Windowe carpettis.} yardis, and in bredithe one yarde quarter; and the other in lengthe one yarde di., and in bredithe one yarde di. quarter.

CUSSHYNS LONGE AND SQUARE.

Fyrst, two longe cushhyns of playne clothe of golde, either of them ^{Long cushhyns.} cont' in lengthe one yarde, and in bredithe iij. quarters.

Item, foure square cushhyns, the outesides of everye of theme clothe ^{Square cushhyns.} of tissue, and the backsides pleyne clothe of golde, everye of them cont' iij. quarters of a yarde square and upon theme alle vij. knoppis withe tassellis of red silke and Venysse golde.

Item, two longe cushhyns paned of clothe of tissue and crymsene ^{Long cushhyns.} velvette, either of them cont' in lengthe iij. quarters iij. nayles, and in bredithe di. yarde and a nayle.

Item, one long cushhyne, the outeside nedilleworke, and the backe-side grene damaske, cont' in lengthe iij. quarters di. and in bredithe di. yarde di. quarter.

Item, one square cushhyne paned, of clothe of tissue and crymsen ^{Square cushhyns.} velvette, cont' square di. yard di. quarter.

Item, two cushhynes of purple clothe of golde, either of them cont' square di. yarde di. quarter.

Item, two olde square cusshyns of pleyne clothe of golde, sore brokene, either of theme cont' iij. quarters of a yarde square.

COUNTERPOYNTE.

Counterpoyntes unservesable. Item, two counterpoyntes of tapistrye, either of theme lined with canvas brokene and unservesable.

Counterpoyntes of tissue furred with powderd armyns, provided for the Princesse Dowgier whatte tyme she laye in childebedde. Item, one counterpoynte of astate of riche purple tissue furred with powderd armyns, and lyned with white fustian, cont' in lengthe iij. yardis di., and in bredithe iiij. yardis di. quarter, provided for the Princesse Dowgier whatte tyme she laye in childebedde.

Item, one heede pece of the saide clothe of tissue appoyntid for the forenamed counterpoynte, likewise furred with powderd armyns, cont' in lengthe iiij. yardis, lackinge a nayle, and in bredithe one yarde di. quarter.

Item, one counterpoynte of astate of crymsene clothe of tissue, late furred with powderd armyns, which furre is ripped oute of the saide counterpoynte, and remayneth with the same counterpoynte, somewhatte perisshid, cont' in lengthe iij. yardis di. and in bredithe iiij. yardis, lyned with white fustiane, provided for the Princesse Dowgier as is aforesaide.

Item, one heede pece belonging to the saide counterpoynte of like cloth of tissue, late furred with powderd armyns ripped oute, and somewhatte perisshid, remayning with the saide hede pece, cont' in lengthe iiij. yardis iij. quarters, and in bredithe one yarde iij. nayles.

Counterpoynte of skarlette. Item, one counterpoynte of skarlette, lyned with fustiane, cont' iij. bredis of the same skarlette, and in lengthe iiij yardis iij quarters, sore perisshid with mowthis.

BEDDIS WITH THEIR BOULSTERS.

- Fyrste, a paliotte of Brusells tyke filled withe bastarde downe, cont' in lengthe iij. yardis quarter, and in bredithe ij. yardis iij. quarters di., withe a boulster according to the said paliotte. A paliotte filled with bastarde downe.
- Item, one paliotte of Brusells tyke fyllid with fethers, cont' in lengthe iij. yardis quarter, and in bredithe ij. yardis iij. quarters di., withe a boulster accordeinge to the saide paliotte. Paliottis filled with fethers.
- Item, one paliotte of Brusells tyke, filled withe fethers, cont' in lengthe iij. yardis quarter, and in bredithe ij. yardis iij. quarters di., withe a boulster lacking in lengthe of the bredithe of the paliotte one quarter di., for that it was chaungid.

PILLOWIS OF FUSTIAN FILLED WITH DOWNE.

- Fyrste, two pillowis of downe covered withe fustian, either of theme cont' in lengthe one yarde quart' di., and of iij. breidis of the saide fustiane. Pillowis of iij. breidis of fustiane the pece, and one yarde quarter di. long.
- Item, two pillowis of downe, likewise covered with fustiane, either of theme cont' in lengthe one yarde, and in bredithe di. yarde di. quarter. Pillowis of one yarde in lengthe the pece, and of di. yarde, di. quarter brode.
- Item, three pillowis of downe in like maner covered, everye of theme cont' in lengthe iij. quarters di., and of iij. breidis of the saide fustiane. Pillowis of iij. breidis of fustiane the pece, and iij. quarters di. long.

SHETYS.

- Fyrste, three paire of shetys of Camerycke clothe, everye shete cont' fyve breidis of the same Camerycke, and in lengthe fyve yardis di. Shetis of fyve breidis of Camerycke and fyve yardis di. long.
- Item, one shete of Camerycke, cont' fyve breidis of the same Camerycke, and in lengthe fyve yardis. One shete cont' fyve breidis of Camerycke, and in lengthe fyve yardis.
- Item, one paire shetis of Camerycke clothe, either shete cont' iij. breidis of the same clothe, in lengthe foure yardis, wherof one shete is sore broken. Shetis of foure breidis of Camerycke, and in lengthe foure yardis, wherof one shete sore broken.

- Shetys of iij. bredis of Camerycke, and of iij. yardis iij. quarters long. Item, one paire shetys of Camerycke clothe, either shete cont' three bredis of the same clothe, in lengthe iij. yardis iij. quarters, and no more for that iij. quarters of a yarde was cutte of the lengthe of either of theme.
- Shetys of three bredis of Camerycke, and foure yardis quart' long. Item, three paire and one shete of Camerycke clothe, everye shete cont' three bredis of the same clothe, and in lengthe foure yardis quarter.
- Shetys of two bredis of Camerycke, and foure yardis quart' long. Item, two paire and one shete of Camerycke clothe, everye shete cont' two bredis of the same clothe, and in lengthe foure yardis quarter.
- Sheetis of three bredis of Hollande clothe, and of foure yardis di. long. Item, three shetis of fyne Hollande clothe, everye of them cont' three bredis of the same clothe, and in lengthe foure yardis di.
- A bearing shete of Hollande clothe. Item, one bearinge shete of Hollande clothe, cont' two bredis of the same clothe, and in lengthe two yardis di.
- A towelle of one bredithe of Camerycke, and vij. yardis quarter long. Item, one towelle of Camerycke clothe, cont' one bredithe of the same clothe, and in lengthe vij. yardis quarter.

PILLOWBERES.

- Pillowberes of two bredis of Hollande, and one yarde quarter di. long. Fyrste, two pillowberes of fyne Hollande clothe, either of theme cont' two bredis of the same clothe, and in lengthe one yarde quarter di.
- Pillowberes of two bredis of Hollande, and one yarde qrt' long. Item, foure pillowberes of fyne Hollande clothe, everye of theme cont' two bredis of the same clothe, and in lengthe one yarde quarter.
- Pillowberes of two bredis of Hollande, and of one yarde di. quart' long. Item, three pillowberes of fyne Hollande clothe, everye of theme cont' in lengthe one yarde di. quarter, and of two bredis of the saide clothe.
- Pillowberes of one bredithe of Hollande, and of one yarde long. Item, fyve pillowberes of fyne Hollande clothe, everye of theme cont' one bredithe of the same clothe, and in lengthe one yarde.

FUSTIAN BLANCKETTIS.

- Fustians of vj. bredis the peece, and long newe. Fyrste, one paire of fustiane blanchettis newe, either blanchette cont' vj. bredis of the same fustiane, and in lengthe [*blank*].

- Item, one paire of fustiane blanchkettis, somewhatte worne, either blanchkette cont' vj. bredis of the same fustiane, and in lengthe iiij. yardis iiij. quarters. Fustians of a vj. bredis the pece, and iiij. yardis iiij. quarters long.
- Item, one paire of fustiane blanchkettis, either blanchkette cont' fyve bredis of the same fustiane, and in lengthe three yardis three quarters. Fustians of a v. bredis the pece, and of iiij. yardis iiij. quarters long.
- Item, one paire fustiane blanchkettis, either blanchkette cont' foure bredis of the same fustian, and in length three yardis. Fustians of iiij. bredis the pece and iiij. yardis long.

CHAYRES.

- Fyrste, one chayre of iron richelye covered with crymsene clothe of tissue, fringid withe red silke and Venysse golde, having two gilte pomellis, and it belongithe to the forenamed clothe of astate, with a case of lether lyned withe yalowe cotton to the same. A chayre covered with crymsen clothe of tissue appoynted for the forenamed clothe of astate, of like clothe of tissue.
- Item, three chayres of iron, everye of theme covered withe crymsene clothe of tissue, fringid withe red silke and Venysse golde, having two gilte pomellis, and a case of lether lyned withe yalowe cotton, wherof one is hoolle and servesable, another is broken and maye be made servesable, and the thurde is broken and unservesable. Three chayres everye of theme covered withe crymsene clothe of tissue, wherof one servesable, another brokene and maye be made servesable, and the iiijth is brokene and unservesable.
- Item, one lowe chayre of iron covered withe yalowe clothe of golde withe workis, and fringid withe red silke and Venysse golde, having two gilte pomellis, withe a case of lether lyned withe yalowe cotton to the same. A lowe chayre covered withe yalowe clothe of golde.

LYTILLE STOOLYS.

- Fyrste, a lytille stoole covered withe yalowe clothe of golde, withe workys, fringid withe red silke and Venysse golde, with a case of lether lyned withe yalowe cotton to the same. A stole covered withe yalowe clothe of gold withe workes.
- Item, a lytille square stoole, covered with grene velvette, enbrowe- A stole covered withe

grene velvette, and embrowdered withe golde.

dered withe golde, and fringid withe grenesilke and Venysse golde, havinge a case of lether lyned withe yalowe cotton to the same.

A stole covered withe blacke velvette, and embrowdered withe golde.

Item, a lytille stole covered withe blacke velvette embrowdered withe golde, and fringid with blacke silke and Venysse golde, having a case of lether lyned with yalowe cotton to the same.

TABLES FOR A CLOOSETTE.

A table of the iij. kinges of Coleyne.

Fyrste, a large table withe two leavis, of the three Kinges of Coleyne making their oblacione to Criste.

A table of oure ladye of petie.

Item, a large table withoute leavis, of oure Ladye of Petie.

A table of a quene making peticion to oure ladye.

Item, a table of a Quene making peticion to oure Ladye and Seynte Elizabethethe.

A trussinge bedstede.

Item, a lytille trussinge bedsteede complete, withe two lether cases to trusse it in, without aparelle.

A trussing cofar.

Item, one lytille trussing coofar, cont' in length one quarter of a yarde and three nayles.

A paire of dowceemers.

Item, one paire of dowceemeers broken, and oute of frame, withe a case of tymbre covered with blacke lether.

A targette.

Item, a targette of corke covered withe crymson satten, enbrowdered withe tharmes of Englande and Spayne.

A clothesacke.

Item, a clothesacke cont' in lengthe two yardis quarter, and in bredithe one yarde di. quarter, withoute lace and brace.

A carte canvas.

Item, one carte canvas olde cont' fyve bredis of the same canvas, and in lengthe syxe yardis.

Paliotte cases of canvas newe.

Item, two newe paliotte cases of canvas, the one cont' iij. bredis di. of the same canvas, and in lengthe iiij. yardis, the other cont' in bredith ij. yardis, and in lengthe ij. yardis quarter.

Paliotte cases of canvas olde and broken.

Item, three paliotte cases of canvas olde and brokene.

Canvas to hange before presses and windowis in the Wardrobe.

Item, fyve peces of canvas belonginge to the presses and windowis in the Wardrobe, cont' togeders xxij. yardis quarter of the saide canvas.

Item, the upper bodyes of syxe and thurtie cootys of russette clothe and grene velvette stryped, everye of them enbrowdered as welle upon the breeste and backe with a large roose upon a sheffe of arrowis, garnysshid and enriched with spangilles of silver and gilte, as also aboute the coller with lettres of like silver and gilte, whiche upper bodyes be moche defaced for that mooste of the arrowe heedis and also manye of the saide lettres and spangilles be pyked of.

The upper bodyes of the riche cootys of russette and grene made ayenste the campe.

Item, two and thurtye Flaundres halbartis belonging to the said cootis. Halbartis.

A viewe takyn by Syr Edward Baynton, knyghte, the xiiijth daye of Februarye in the xxvith. yere of the reigne of oure sovereigne lorde king Henry the viijth. by the commaundemente of his highness, and to his grace's use, of alle and singuler suche stuffe remaynyng the said day and yere within Baynardis Castille, in the charge and custodie of Mr. Fraunceys Philippes, whiche late was Princesse Dowgiers, as particularly folowithe:—

WARDROBE STUFFE.

Fyrste, xiiij. paire of shetys of fyne Hollande clothe, everye shete cont' iij. bredis of the saide clothe, and in lengthe iij. yardis quarter. Shetis.

Item, one paire of shetys of fyne Hollande clothe, wroughte with Spanyshe worke of blacke silke upon the edgies, either shete cont' iij. bredis of the saide clothe, and in lengthe iij. yardis di.

Item, two pillowberes of fyne Hollande clothe, either of them wroughte with silke and golde, and garnysshid with buttons of golde. Pillowberes.

Item, fyftene pillowberes of fyne Hollande clothe, everye of them wroughte with goodelye workys of silke and Venysse golde.

- Item, foure smalle pillowberes of assaye, everye of theme beinge of fyne Hollande clothe, wroughte likewise withe goodlye workis of silke and Venysse golde.
- Fetherbeddis
withe their
boulsters. Item, one fetherbedde of Brusells tyke cont' in lengthe ij. yardis di., in bredithe ij. yardis, withe a boulster accordinge to the same.
- Item, one fetherbedde of Brusells tyke, cont' in lengthe ij. yardis di., and in bredithe one yarde iiij. quarters, withe a boulster accordinge.
- Fyne mattresses
filled withe
wulle. Item, a mattras covered withe lynnene clothe, and filled with wulle, cont' ij. yardis iiij. quarters square.
- Item, two mattresses covered withe Hollande clothe, for a cradelle, either of them filled withe wulle, the one cont' in lengthe one yarde di., and in bredithe iiij. quarters di., the other cont' in lengthe one yarde quarter, and in bredithe iiij. quarters.
- Counter-
poyntes. Item, a counterpoynte of skarlette lyned withe fustian, cont' two bredis of the saide skarlette, and in lengthe iiij. yardis iiij. quarters.
- Item, a counterpoynte of veerdours unlyned, withe beastis and fowlis in it, cont' in lengthe iiij. yardes, and in bredithe iiij. yardis.
- Blanckettis. Item, one paire of fustian blanckettis, either blanckette cont' fyve bredis of the saide fustian, and in lengthe iiij. yardis.
- Item, seevyn wullen blanckettis, everye of them cont' one bredithe, and in lengthe ij. yardis di.
- Item, one wullen blanckette, cont' two bredis, and in lengthe iiij. yardes di.
- Pillowis. Item, fyve pillowis of downe, everye of theme cont' one bredithe di. of fustian, and in lengthe one yarde quarter.
- Item, syxe pillowis of downe, every of them cont' one bredithe of the fustian, and in lengthe iiij. quarters.
- Cusshyns. Item, two cusshyns of tyke, filled withe flockis.
- Windowe
carpettis. Item, syxe smalle windowe carpettis, every of them cont' in lengthe ij. yardis, and in bredithe one yarde quarter.
- A ceelour and
testour of
sarcenette. Item, a ceelour and testour of red sarcenette for a cradelle, the ceelour

cont' in lengthe ij. yardis di., and of two bredis of the saide sarcenette, the testour cont' in depthe iij. yardis, and of ij. bredis of the same sarcenette, having single valaunce fringid withe red silke, and also three curteynes of the saide sarcenette, everye of them cont' in depthe iij. yardis.

Item, one canapie of red sarcenette, cont' in depthe iij. yardis quarter, A canapie of sarcenette.
 withe a hoope to the same fringide withe red silke.

Of the same lire white, eighte hoolle pecis. Rounde lyre.

Item, one steele glasse broken, withe cordons, buttons, and tassellis A steele glasse.
 of red silke and Venysse golde, havinge a hooke of silver and gilte to hange it bye.

NAPRYE FOR THE EWRYE.

Fyrste, two hande towellis of fyne Hollande clothe, either of them Towellis.
 wrought at boothe endis withe Venysse golde, and fringed withe silke. (Delyvered to the Kinges highnes.*)

Item, three longe towellis of fyne Hollande clothe, every of them
 wroughte with goodelye workis of silke and golde.

CLOOSETTE STUFFE.

Fyrste, foure tables of nedilworke, wherof (*blank*). Tables for aultres.

Item, a lytille table, on the one side oure Ladye withe her Sonne in
 her armes, and on the other side tharmes of Englande and Spayne.

Item, a lytille table of Seynte Fraunceys.

Item, a pyxe clothe of copar clothe of golde, fringed withe like A pyxe clothe.
 golde, withe a boxe for the same, covered withe blacke lether.

Item, one prymmar written in vellom, covered withe clothe of A prymmar.
 golde, havinge two claspis of silver and gilte.

Item, a riche clothe of launde, withe a pictoure of Criste therein A fyne launde wroughte with nedilworke.
 wroughte in gold withe nedilwork, baptized by Seynte John,

* Added *secunda manu*.

likewise wrought, and garnysshid aboute the edgies withe Venysse golde. (Delyvered to the kingis highnes.*)

Cipresse clothis. Item, two Cipresse clothes, the one cont' in lengthe iiij. yardis di. and of v. bredis of the saide Cipresse, and the other cont' in lengthe iiij. yardis and of iiij. bredis of the same Cipresse.

Tables of son- Item, a smalle table of Seynte John Baptiste.
drye pictours. Item, a smalle table of iverye of the marterdam of Seynte Katerine.
Item, a smalle table of nedillworke of the image of Criste.
Item, another like table of nedillworke.
Item, a table of nedillworke of oure Ladye and Seynte Anne.
Item, a table of nedillworke of Josephe and oure Ladye.
Item, a peyntid table of Josephe and oure Ladye.
Item, a large peyntid table of oure Ladye and her Sonne.
Item, one small clothe of nedillworke of oure Ladye and her Sonne.
Item, one smalle table of nedillworke of Seynte Frauncies.
Item, one table peyntid representing the pictours of the King and the Princesse Dowgier.

Item, a table of iverye withe two leavis, havinge in the table a pictoure of oure Ladye and her Sonne, of the saide iverye, and in the leavis dyverse other pictours of the same iverye.

Item, a lytille table of nedillworke of Josephe and oure Ladye.

Cushyns of Item, three cushyns of purple velvette, whereof two cont' in lengthe
purple velvette. the pece iij. quarters, and the iij^{de} one yarde di. quarter, everye of them of the bredithe of the saide velvette.

Shetis of Came- Item, two paire shetys of fyne Hollande clothe, everye shete cont' three
rycke and bredis of the same clothe, and in lengthe foure yardis quarter.
Hollande
clothe.

Item, syxe paire shetis of fyne Hollande clothe, everye shete cont' two bredis of the same clothe, and in lengthe three yardis skante.

Item, three paire shetis of Hollande clothe of a courser soorte, everye shete cont' two bredis di. of the same clothe, and in lengthe three yardis di.

* Added *secunda manu*.

- Item, two paire shetis of Cameryke clothes, everye shete cont' three bredis of the same clothe, and in lengthe iiij. yardis.
- Item, two pillowberes of fyne Hollande clothe, either of them cont' in lengthe one yarde di. and of two bredis of the saide clothe. Pillowberes of fyne Hollande clothe.
- Item, seevyn pillowberes of fyne Hollande clothe, every of them cont' in lengthe three quarters of a yarde and in bredithe di. yarde.
- Item, a cuppe of horne withe a covar, garnysshid withe auntique workis, the knoppe of the covar and the foote of the cuppe iverye. (Delivered to the Quenes grace.)* A cuppe of horne garnysshid with antiques and other.
- Item, two working stoolis for gentilwomen, wherof the one is covered withe grene velvette, and garnysshid with silver, and the other covered withe crymsen velvette garnysshid withe gilte nayles. (Delyvered to the Quenes grace.)* Working stoolis as well of waynescotte covered with velvette, as also of iverye.
- Item, two working stoolis of iverye, the one within the other, and one case for them boothe, with certeyne necessities of iverye belonging to the same.
- Item, a lytille stoole to sytte upon, covered withe redde velvette figury and fringid withe red silke. A lytille stoole covered withe red velvette figurye.
- Item, two cheste bourdis of iverye, either of them furnysshid withe cheste men of like iverye, the one withe a claspe and hengies of silver, and the other withe hengies of latene. (Delyvered to the Kinges highnes.)* Chest bourdis of iverye furnysshid with chestmen.
- Item, one paire of tables of peerle, the edgies garnysshid withe silver and gilte, withoute table men. A paire of tables withoute tablemen.
- Item, one case covered with blacke lether, having therin syxe thynne leavis of waynescotte, to playe at foxe, chestys, and other games, wherof foure have rings of silver to hange bye. Leavis of waynescot to playe at foxe, chestys, and other games.
- Item, chestmen of iverye, red and white, belonging to the chestbourdis of iverye. Delyvered unto the Kinges grace. Chestmen of iverye. Delivered to the Kinges highnes.
- Item, a blacke boxe of chestmen of iverye, lacking the cheste bourde.
- Item, seevyn paire slippars of the Spanysshe fasshion, corkid and garnysshid withe golde. Slippars of the Spanysshe fasshion.

* Added *secunda manu*.

- A case of trenchiers. Item, one case of woode trenchiers, cont' one dussen. (Delyvered to Curralle. the Queane.*)
- Item, a large braunche of curralle broken.
- Necessaries provided for the Princesse Dowgier, whatte tyme she laye in child bedde. Fyrste, three smockis of fyne Hollande clothe, wherof two be wroughte aboute the collers withe golde, and the thurde wroughte aboute the coller and at the handis with silke.
- Item, a launde, to covar a childe, fringid with golde.
- Item, two doble peticootis of fyne Hollande clothe.
- Item, two roullers, the one lynnene, and the other wullen. (Delivered to the Quene.*)
- Item, three breeste clothis of Hollande clothe, withe tapis of the same.
- Looking glasses. Item, one glasse sette in clothe of tissue, edgid withe crymsen velvette.
- Item, one glasse sette in wire golde, garnysshed withe counterfette peerle, and lynyed withe crymsen satten.
- Pyncasses. Item, three pyncasses, whereof two covered withe clothe of golde, and the iij^{de} of nedille worke.
- A brasier. Item, one brasier of Venysse golde, wroughte with the lettres **H. R.** with a garde of crymsen velvette in the myddes.
- Bookys. Item, three bookes covered withe red lether, garnysshid withe golde foyle, and tyed with grene reabande.
- Item, seevyntene other bookys, smalle and greate, lockid in a cheste.
- Balaunce. Item, one paire of balaunce, withe two piles of brasse weightes, the one greate and the other smalle, in a case covered withe blacke lether.
- Hampers. Item, two hampers covered withe blacke lether.
- A desk covered with black velvette. Item, a deske covered withe blacke velvette, and garnysshid withe gilte nayles. (Delivered to the Kingis highnes.*)
- A cofar of ivery. Item, one lytille broken cofar of iverye, garnysshid withe imagerye, having a handille, locke, and jemewis of silver.
- A cofar covered withe crymsen velvete. Item, one cofar covered with crymsen velvette, garnysshid with gilte nayles, having foure tilles therin, the fore fronte of every of them gilte. (Delivered to the Quene.*)

* Added *secunda manu*.

- Item, a blacke cheste of Flaundres making, cont' in lengthe one yarde quarter. A cheste of Flaundres making.
- Item, fyve standardes, every of them covered withe lether and peyntid red, wherof one cont' in lengthe one yarde quarter, another cont' in length one yarde di., and the iiij^{de} in lengthe likewise one yarde di., the iiijth of like lengthe, and the vth in lengthe one yarde quarter. Standardes of dyverse cises.
- Item, seevyn hoolle tapers of vyrgyn's waxe. Tapers of virgin's waxe.

KYCHEN STUFFE.

- Fyrste, a rounde broche, withe a paire of rackis to the same, one fyre panne, one fyre forke, one paire of smalle aundeyeron, one brasse potte of a galon, a brasse panne of three galons, one gredeyeron, and one paire of tonges. A broche withe a paire of rackis, a fyre panne, a fyre forke, a paire smalle aundeyeron, a brasse potte, a brasse pan, a gredeyeron, a paire of tongis.
- Item, foure basons of pewter, wherof three large and one smalle.
- Item, one flagon of pewter of a pottell.
- Item, one chafer of brasse of a galon.
- Item, two possettis of brasse, either of them having a steele, the one of a pottell, and the other of a quarte.
- Item, syxe candilstyckes of latten, wherof ij. with prickettes and iiij. withe sockettis.
- Item, a ladille of latten.
- Item, a skyllette of brasse of a quarte.
- Item, a smalle mortar of brasse, withe a broken pestell.
- Item, one joyned table of waynescotte, cont' in lengthe ij. yardis with a paire of joyned tristilles to the same.
- Item, two juggis of lether.

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 Leland's Collectanea, vol. vi. p. 7. At

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dagger 3. One of Holbein's designs for a dagger (presented by Henry VIII. to the French ambassador) is engraved in the Antiquarian Repertory, 1807, from a drawing formerly presented by Captain Grose to Dr. Ducarel, and since belonging to J. H. Markland, esq. The ornamental portions of another dagger, designed by Holbein, and of a sword, are engraved in Shaw's Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages.

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Damask, gold 26. In 1532 "the Frenche kyng caused two gownes to be made of white velvet, pricked with gold of damaske, and the capes and vestes were of frettes of whipped gold of damaske very riche ; whiche two gounes he sent to the kyng of Englande, praying hym to choose the one, and to weare it for his sake, whiche gladly tooke it, and so that Tewesdaie the two kynges were bothe in one suite."—Hall's Chronicle.

desk 40

dishes 20

— silver 11

doublets 2

dowcemers 34 ; the dulcimer, a musical instrument.

ewers, silver gilt 9, 10

— parcel gilt 10

feather beds 36

fire-fork 41. Fyrr forke, *licionarium*.—Prompt. Parv.

flagons, silver gilt 8

— parcel gilt 11

— pewter 41

fox, game of 39

fustian, 30, 31

— blankets of 20, 32, 36

Garter, robes of the 1

— jewels of, 5. One of the duke's garters was presented to him by cardinal Wolsey : "Item, oone garter of corone golde for my lorde of Richemont poiss. ij oz. the ounce xxxvj s. viij d. in money iij l. xij s. iiij d. and for the making of the same xviij s. Sum iiij l. xj s. iiij d."—Gutch's Collectanea Curiosa, vol. ii. p. 321.

glasses, looking 40 : *see* steel glass

gold of damaske, *see* Damask

gorget of gold 5. This was given to the duke by the king. Wolsey had also on one occasion given the little duke a similar ornament, of the kind called a carcanet : "Anno xvj. Item, delivered to my said lorde (cardinal) a karkanett for my lorde of Richemont, poiss. iij oz. iiij penny weights, the oz. xxxv s., the making xx s., in money vj l. xij s. ; and for a hanging perle vj s. viij d., vj l. xvij s. viij d."—Gutch's *Collectanea Curiosa*, ii. 313.

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five pieces of tapestry 17

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horse-litter xx

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images of Saints, silver 7

incarnate 2

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jewels of gold 5

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—— leather 41

kersey, black and white 4

keryes 14 : the prick-song of *Kyrie eleison*

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ladle, brass 41

launde, or cloth of lawn, wrought in needle-work, with the baptism of Christ 37

—— to cover a child 40

leyer, or layer, silver gilt 10. The particular form of a layer has not been ascertained, but we read of them as made of gold, set with jewels, of glass, and of birral, as having a lid, and a spout like a serpent : also, "twoo fayer pottes of golde, layer-fasshon, clxv. oz."—MS. Soc. Ant. 121.

lire, pieces of 37. "Lyowre, to bynde wythe precyows clothys, *Ligatorium*."—Prompt. Parv. ; *see* also notes *ib*.

lired 24, 25 : *i. e.* bound at the edges

livery, the Tudor, of white and green, *see* cognisance

looking-glasses 40 : *see* steel glass

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luzardes fur 1

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- martelets 11 : pots of a certain measure.
 mass-books 14
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 —— cases 34
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 —slighte rugge or pampilion."—Holly-
 band, *Treasurie of the French Tongue*. In
 1530 the king paid no less than 60*l*. for
 25 dozen skins of fine pawmpelion.—
 Privy-purse Expenses, p. 48.
 pans, bound with iron 20
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 pix 6
 — cloth 37
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 — parcel gilt 10
 — white 11
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 —Palsgrave.
 pots, brass 20
 — silver gilt 9 12
 — parcel gilt 11
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 prickets 7, 10 : spikes to fix candles on.
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 processions.
 pyncasses 40. Pyncase, *esplinguette*, *esplin-*
 guiere.—Palsgrave.

 quartelets 9, 12 : pots of a quart.

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 Sloppes hosyn, *brayes a marinier*.—Palsgrave. *See* notes to Privy-purse Expenses of Henry VIII. by Nicolas, pp. 274, 371.
 smocks 40. Smocke for a woman, *chemise a femme*.—Palsgrave.
 sorelled horse 20
 sperver 19, 26. "Some have curteynes, some *sparvers*, about the bedde to kepe away gnattes—*conopeum lecto circumspargent*."—Horman's *Vulgaria*. "Padiglione, a pavilion or the *sparviour* of a bedde."—W. Thomas, *Italian Diet*. 1548. *See* further in notes to Privy-purse Expenses of Eliz. of York, by Sir H. Nicolas, p. 256.
 spoons, of gold 5
 — gilt 9
 — silver 11
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 —Palsgrave.
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 travers, of changeable sarcenet 14. Hangings or curtains, made to form moveable parti-

tions in large rooms. "In 1532 in the church of Bulleyne was a traverse, set up for the Frenche kyng, open on every side, saving it was siled (ceiled) with velvet, embraudered with flower de lices of golde; the pillars were hanged with the same worke. On the Frenche kynges right hand was another traverse, siled and cortened, all of white satten, embraudered with cables cast of cut cloth of gold, embraudered and gilted after the fashion that mariners cast their ropes: this traverse was valanced of like worke, and fringed with fine gold. Daily the kynges heard their masses in these traverses." For the same purpose in St. Mary's church, at Calais, were set two traverses; "the one for the Frenche kyng was of crimosyn velvet replenished with great roses of massy bullion of fine gold, and the seede of the said roses were greates orient pearls, and about every rose was a wrethe, al of pearle and stone, which traverse was much wondered at by the Frenchemen; the other traverse, of blew velvet and cloth of tissue, raised with flowers of silver paned, al the blew velvet was embrodered with knottes, and subtle draughtes of leaves and braunches, that fewe men could judge the cunnyng of the workemanship."—Hall's Chronicle, 1548.

trenchers, of silver 11

———— wood 40

tyke, Brussels 30, 36

unicorn horn 5

valaunce, single 26; double 27. "A kind

of saye, serge, or stuff to make curtains for beds with."—Florio. The term became technically applied to a short dependent curtain, or the border of one.

velvet figurye 23, 28

Venice gold 1, 2, 3, 26, 28, 33, 35

—— silver 3

verdours 17, 25. "*Ouvrage de verdure*, forest work, or flourished work, wherein gardens, woods, or forests be represented."—Cotgrave's Fr. Dic. 1632. See some notices of verdours collected in the Sussex Archaeological Collections, 1854, vol. vii. p. 38: and a remark as to the Verdours described in p. 25, in the Preface, *ante*. At Windsor, in 1 Edw. VI. were "nyne peces of verdowers, with fountaynes."—MS. Harl. 1419.

vestments of the chapel 13, 14

whistle of gold 5. This was, no doubt, the duke of Richmond's official badge as lord admiral. At the landing of Anne of Cleves, in 1539, the earl of Southampton, then lord admiral, "was dressed in a coat of purple velvet, cut on cloth of gold, and tied with aiglettes and trefoils of gold to the number of four hundred; and baldrick-wise he wore a chain, at which hung a whistle of gold, set with riche stones of great value." See further Sir H. Nicolas's notes to the Privy-purse Expenses of Henry VIII. p. 362.

woodknife 4

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ympnrs 14: music-books of hymns.

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